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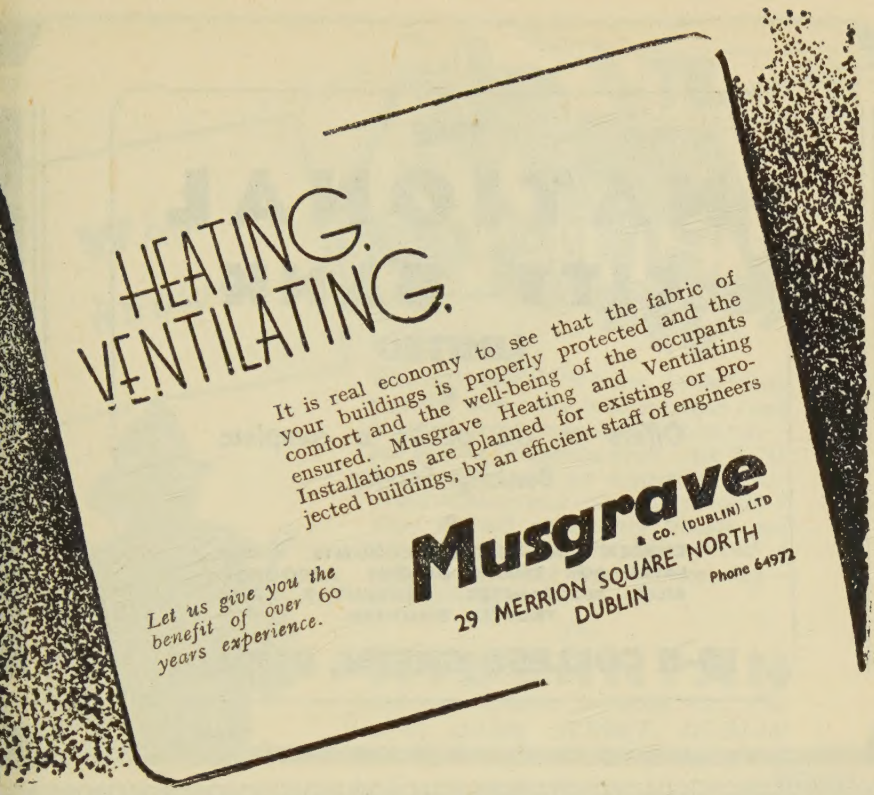
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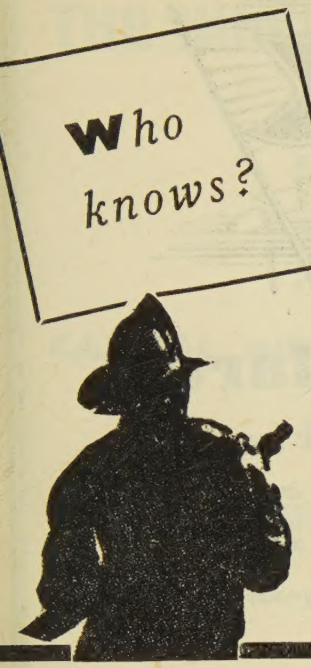

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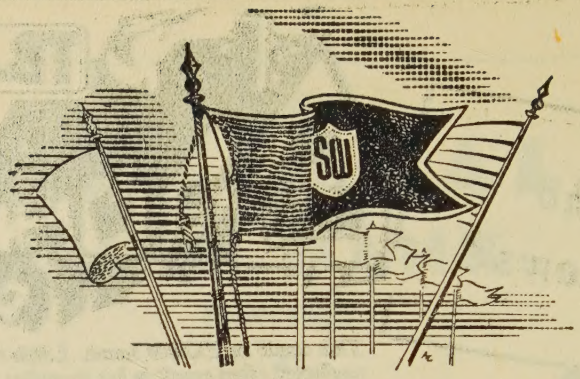

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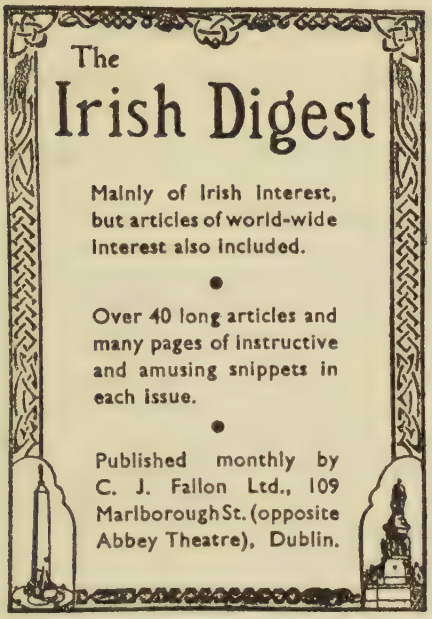
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"LET us now praise men of renown" (Eccli. 44.1). This invitation could come to us with no higher authority; its accomplishment, however, demands knowledge not merely of the man but also of his true renown and its foundations. The man in whose memory these lines are written and whose centenary is being celebrated this year, is Edmund Ignatius Rice, the founder of the Irish Christian Brothers, who formed the first Irish congregation of men to obtain approval from Rome. He was born in 1762, at "Westcourt" near Callan in Co. Kilkenny. His father, Robert Rice, had married Margaret Tierney. Despite the losses incurred by their family in 1641 and the fearful effects of the recent Penal Code, they were able to live in tolerable comfort. There were seven sons, one of whom became an Augustinian and did great service to the Church in Callan. Edmund was the fourth son. His parents were inspired by a virile tradition of loyalty to the faith, and to that and to their high ideals and exemplary practices may be traced much of the excellence which characterized their son. His education was obtained in Callan in one of those illegal schools which kept the light of learning alive in Ireland in those terrible days, and we are told that an Augustinian friar who lived in the town played no small part in his spiritual formation.

At the age of seventeen Edmund Rice went to Waterford to enter the business of his uncle, Michael Rice. From the start he showed all those qualities that lead to success in commercial life, which was one of the few openings left for Catholics in those days, and we find him eventually inheriting the business. His success continued, and at the age of twenty-three he married. Of his married life we know little, save that he had one daughter and was a happy and worthy father and husband. His business never so absorbed his attention that he forgot the needs of his fellow men, and when the death of his wife removed the deepest attachment of his heart, he devoted himself still more generously to those works of charity which had always been habitual with him.

The source of his zeal in this matter will be better understood when we note that Edmund Rice was one of a group of young men in Waterford who had formed an association to promote the fervour of their lives by such means as daily Mass, the frequent reception of the Sacraments, prayer and reading, and works of penance and charity. His activities, then, were not the result of a merely natural sympathy for his fellow-men, but were inspired by the supernatural motive of the love of God. He was one of the most active members of that famous society for the relief

of "Distressed Room-Keepers", and his private efforts to help his neighbour were many and varied. We read of him going down to the docks of Waterford to purchase a young negro cabin-boy from the captain of one of the ships. He undertook the support and education of the boy, and made him an exemplary Catholic. The famous Bianconi, whose organization of transport was but one of his triumphs, owed much to the help and inspiration of Edmund Rice. More than one conversion, from evil life as well as from heresy, can be traced to his influence. These are but examples; his zeal for his fellow-men knew no limits, but it was always directed primarily to their supernatural welfare.

And so, at the age of thirty-two, we see him as a man who had solved one of the most difficult problems—that of leading a life of virtue and detachment as a successful and wealthy layman in the midst of many secular activities. Many would say that such a man, especially at such a time, should be satisfied with that achievement, and many would consider that he could render no better service to the cause of religion. His Augustinian brother may have held some such opinion, for when Edmund Rice spoke to him of his idea of seeking a closer union with God in the religious life in some continental monastery—there were none then in Ireland—he gave him no encouragement. But the flame had been lit in the heart of the successful merchant; he himself admits how much he was moved by the fervour of a friar whom he met on his travels. They had to share their night's lodgings, and the friar's devotion was such that even during the night he frequently poured out his heart to God in ardent prayer. Still the difficulties of the time were added to the discouragement from his brother, and Edmund Rice was left to grope in the dark for some more years until God's will should make itself clear.

It would seem that nearly six years elapsed before he had certain knowledge of his vocation and was ready to follow it. During that period, in addition to the essential method of earnest prayer and advance in detachment, he sought advice from his friends and from ecclesiastical authority. A conversation with Miss Power, a sister of Father Power who was afterwards Bishop of Waterford, seems to have done much to clarify his purpose. This lady, who was one of his closest friends, was noted for her piety as well as her many excellences of mind and of character. One day, when he had put before her his plan to retire to a continental monastery, he was surprised to receive a vigorous reply, completely disapproving of his project and insisting that it would be much better to devote himself to the needs of the miserable poor boys of the city—who were, just then, displaying their lack of manners in the street below. His own personal observation of their wretched condition added weight to the suggestion, and he sought advice from Dr. Lanigan, the Bishop of his native diocese of Ossory. That prelate readily approved of the idea, and suggested that he should sell his possessions in order to build

a school for these poor unfortunates. The Bishop of Waterford at that time was the famous Dr. Hussey, who had shown such a spirit of true independence in his office. To him, as the divinely appointed ruler of the diocese, Edmund Rice submitted his plan and received the episcopal approval of the project, with the assurance that the idea came from God and that he would have the Bishop's full co-operation. The complete ordinariness—if we may use the word—of the manner in which Edmund Rice was led to his vocation, and the fact that the final decision came from the one whom the Holy Ghost had appointed to rule the diocese, are noteworthy ; for it is often thought that such great works must have an extraordinary beginning. But God is quite competent to produce extraordinary results with the most ordinary and even the most unpromising instruments.

In the year 1800 then, at the age of 38, we find Edmund Rice withdrawing from public life and selling his property in order to become a school-teacher for the sake of the poor boys of Waterford. A chronicler tells us that he " stood above, having only his good resolutions." However, even if we leave aside the abundant supernatural co-operation that was awaiting him, he had a little more than his good intention. He had all those qualities that had made him such an outstanding success in business, had won for him the respect and regard of his fellow-citizens, and had made him still more of a success as a Catholic. Prudence, courage, energy and perseverance, each in a high degree, were combined with an intellect of notable keeness and vigour. A man of principle, he had been careful to conduct his business according to Christian principles. The Bible was his constant study and there is a collection of extracts from it, all dealing with wealth and its use, which show how careful he had been to set up his defences against that avarice which is the ruin of so many successful men. Curiously enough, the more detached and altruistic his motives, the greater was his success in commerce, and his last year of trading was exceptionally good.

But Edmund Rice had need of all his assets. To start school-teaching at forty with the almost half-savage riff-raff of the city for pupils ! That indeed was a task that would require more than usual courage. But there was more than that to daunt him. The whole tide of the times, the whole force of a century's oppression and deliberate plan were in opposition to him. It is not necessary here to describe the nature and effects of the Penal Laws in the eighteenth century. They are well known. But if we are to have a proper picture of Edmund Rice we must glance at that historical background. A few words from the speech delivered by Mr. Stephen Curtis after his death will serve to put it on the canvas. " He commenced," said Mr. Curtis, " in 1802, at a time when there was, literally speaking, no means of education for Irish People of the Catholic faith. The penal code, though relaxed in their favour,

had left behind it a temporising influence equally adverse with direct tyranny to the spread of education, no one as yet venturing to undertake what was but a few years before illegal. . . . It required a mind of no ordinary temperament to commence at such a time the regeneration of a people—everything was adverse, everywhere was difficulty—but in Mr. Rice there was a happy combination of those noble qualities—ardour, endurance, foresight, perseverance—which eminently fitted him for gigantic undertakings and made him consider less the magnitude of obstacles than the means of overcoming them."

If in the first sentence we read, as we probably should read, the word "legally" for "literally," little fault can be found with that summary. The conditions were indeed adverse. The penal laws in the first half of the eighteenth century have often been described but never adequately. There is nothing that can be cited as a standard to measure or to express the callous oppression, the determined tyranny, the almost diabolical hatred of the truth, that characterized that attempt to exterminate the Faith in Ireland. In the eyes of the law, Irish Catholics did not exist. For them there was no justice; for them there was not even charity. Nothing was left undone to drive out from their life every idea of human dignity. Their religion, their education, their property, even their very food were to be taken from them. To render their degradation complete and permanent, the legislator determined to prevent them obtaining any sort of education. To quote Mr. Wyse, in his *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association*: "The last resource of the oppressed, the '*arma supersunt*,' was wrested from them. The plunder of intelligence, the spoliation of mind, came next; and the prospective legislation of barbarism, a studious desolation of everything which could tend to the intellectual improvement and elevation of the country, henceforth became the paramount object, the essential principle of national government." (Vol. I., p. 13). Education of any Catholic at home was completely banned, transportation being one of the penalties for the teacher, while the sending or the maintaining of an Irish subject at any place of Catholic education abroad was rigorously forbidden under severe penalties. The reign of Queen Anne saw a still more thorough attempt to exterminate 'Popery.' Political events in 1745 had some repercussion on this policy, and in 1760 the first Catholic Committee was formed. American developments led to some apparent relief in 1778, and further changes in the legislation followed in 1793. The Union in 1800 transferred the scourge into the hands of the English Government, until a long series of struggles led finally to Emancipation in 1829.

The fearful affects of a century's mental and moral shackles made it difficult for Catholics to avail of their new opportunities. Most of them had lost courage; many had even lost their self-respect. The spirit of ascendancy was dominant; and Catholics, under the accumulated force

of the savage suggestion of a century's oppression, found it hard to avoid considering themselves an inferior race. The Faith alone remained—that in fact is Ireland's greatest glory, for which she sacrificed all else—and in that Faith was found salvation. Dr. Hussey's famous pastoral had insisted on the need of schools for Catholics, but when Edmund Rice took up the work he had to fight against not alone the grim determination of the Ascendancy, but even the timidity and discouragement and, one might say, the degradation of the Catholics themselves. The situation is hard for us to realise now-a-days; those of us who have lived in the North are, perhaps, in a better position to form some notion of it. The feeling of timidity, of keeping Catholicity in the back streets, of doing nothing that would attract attention, was strong; and against all that Edmund Rice had to work. His chief aim was the *religious* instruction of youth. The rest was to be subservient to that. And because he thus put first things first and, by the pursuit of personal holiness, laid his foundation on the rock which is Christ, his work succeeded and still stands. It is but one more example of the value of the doctrine: "Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you." (Matt. 6, 33).

By 1802 Edmund Rice had completed his arrangements and had acquired temporary quarters in which, with two assistants, he set up his school. Despite the difficulties offered by the material, his personality and sincerity were such that in a short time he had succeeded in establishing discipline and regularity in the classroom. More than that, the effects of his work were apparent in the completely changed conduct of the boys outside school-hours, their attitude and attention in the church exciting special comment. The numbers grew and he was forced to consider building new premises. These were to be erected on a site still known as Mount Sion. But the love of God runs no smoother than the proverbial love of men. Trials awaited him. His two assistants lost heart and nothing would induce them to continue the work. He was left alone with his hundreds of boys until two volunteers came from Callan to join in the work. He succeeded in getting a suitable building erected at Mount Sion, and it was blessed by Dr. Hussey. But some lying tongues stirred up trouble, and Edmund Rice had to suffer from the Bishop's coldness and complete change of attitude. Puzzled, he sought counsel from Fr. Power, who was able to clear up the misunderstanding and restore complete harmony between the two great men. The trial, however, was a severe one, for the Bishop's support had given an authority to the work that is almost essential for anyone who is living by faith. Dr. Hussey's will, in which he did not forget the needs of the new institute, showed that his confidence in Edmund Rice had been fully restored.

During the next six years the Waterford foundation prospered, and

new houses were founded in Carrick-on-Suir and in Dungarvan. None of this growth, of course, was without its difficulties, which were sometimes most discouraging ; but the steady flow of support, in the form of funds and, better still, of very fine volunteers, gave the founder great encouragement. In fact, one of the most remarkable features of these early days was the number and quality of the vocations ; men, often of mature years, of wealth and position, of considerable talent, left all to throw in their lot with Edmund Rice. Their generosity and his excellent formation of the souls God thus sent him were such that, in 1808, a proposal to form them into a religious society was made to the new Bishop, Dr. Power. With his approval they took first religious vows after the model of the Presentation nuns. On the 15 August 1808, Dr. Power applied to Rome for the approval of the Holy See, and the reply of the Sacred Congergation encouraged him so much that he gave them a religious habit and admitted those who were willing to perpetual vows. Edmund Rice took the name of Ignatius, in memory of that great Saint who, at a similar age, began to prepare himself for the great work which was to have such a wonderful effect upon all Christendom.

The fame of Br. Rice's work spread, and Dr. Moylan, the Bishop of Cork, where a committee had been formed to deal with the school problem, decided to ask for some of the Brothers to take charge of the local schools. Dr. Murray, the Archbishop of Dublin, also sought for their services ; and Br. Rice, in sending him the only two men whom he could spare, resigned all authority over them into the hands of the Archbishop, while promising to contribute to their support. Thurles and Limerick were the next centres to set up Christian Brothers' Schools, but each of these developments brought its own share of trials.

Meanwhile the Founder was also busy with another work. Rules and Constitutions had to be drawn up for the Society, so as to meet the needs revealed by experience and to satisfy the demands of Rome. In this work he was helped greatly by Dr. Murray and by the famous Fr. Peter Kenney, S.J., who played no small part in the spiritual formation of the young institute. Dr. Murray secured a copy of the Constitutions of the Congregation which had been founded on the Continent by St. John Baptist de la Salle, and suggested that the Irish Christian Brothers should adopt a similar form of central government. Br. Rice and his colleagues met to consider the question and, while adopting the form of government of the French institute, drew up rules more in accordance with Irish needs. The result was submitted to Rome, and the final approval was given by Pius VII on 5 September 1820. The Brief was entrusted to Fr. Peter Kenney, S.J., for delivery. On its arrival, nineteen out of twenty-two who had made perpetual vows met to elect a Superior-General and made a retreat under Fr. Kenney's direction. Needless to say, Br. Edmund Ignatius Rice was the choice of all present. The Brothers

from Cork were unable to attend, as Dr. Murphy, the then Bishop, was strongly opposed to the Cork community being transferred from his authority to that of Br. Rice. His attitude, which was a source of considerable difficulty for many years, led eventually to the formation of the separate institute of the Presentation Brothers under the leadership of Br. Michael Austin Reardon. Most of the other members of the Cork community came separately to Waterford and made their profession accepting Br. Rice as Superior.

The stability and uniformity thus established and the centralization of government made for much smoother working. Previously each Bishop had control of the Brothers in his own diocese and appointed the Superiors. Now all were subject to Br. Rice, and the institute spread, not only in Ireland but also across the Channel. Foundations were made in Preston, Liverpool, and London. The whole spirit of the time was opposed to popular education, and the Irish proselytizing organizations were eager, active, and well equipped with money and influence. But the agitation for emancipation was being led by O'Connell, and when in 1828 a new school was proposed for North Richmond Street, he suggested to the Catholic Committee that they should make its foundation the occasion of a public demonstration which "would have the effect of raising the spirit of the Catholic community and of demonstrating to the Government and the unrelenting Protestant Ascendancy the spirit that animated their unemancipated Catholic citizens." The Committee subscribed generously to the project and attended in full state when O'Connell laid the first stone of what is now famous as the O'Connell Schools. Some months afterwards Dr. Murray laid the foundation stone of the monastery in North Richmond Street, and Br. Rice with his assistants transferred the government of the society to that house, having previously come to Dublin to their schools in Hanover Street.

In 1831 Br. Rice was re-elected Superior General. He had tried to resign that office in 1829, but in deference to the entreaties of the General Chapter he withdrew his resignation. In 1838, at the age of seventy-six, his growing infirmities made it impossible to face any further period of office, and he resigned. The next six years of his life were spent in his old monastery at Mount Sion in Waterford, where he lived in complete and childlike obedience to the Superiors. Perhaps the most significant way of summing up these years is to say that after the Bible, his favourite reading was the works of St. Teresa. His death took place on the 29 August 1844 and occasioned universal mourning, every member of the Society being touched to the heart by a personal loss.

We have not tried to sketch in any detail the work done in the latter part of the Founder's life. That would need a far larger canvas than is at our disposal. The very inadequacy of our treatment will, we hope, lead other more competent pens to do justice to the various aspects of

his work. The effects of his foundations were so many and so extensive that each one would demand at least an article for its summary. The effort of the proselytizing schools to destroy the Catholic faith were followed by the National System of Education. This was really an effort to control what could not be avoided and to educate Irish children in indifference to their religion and in ignorance of their history and their language. Archbishop Walsh considered that " one of the first results of that great act of Christian faith and of trust in the guiding and helping hand of Providence—the establishment of the Irish Institute of Christian Brothers . . . was the utter collapse of that system which had been so long carried on in the state-aided elementary schools of Ireland." When we remember that the Archbishop was one who weighed his words with great care and formed his opinion with a judicial reserve that enthusiasm never disturbed, this testimony is seen to be of the highest importance.

The attitude of the Christian Brothers to the ' National System ' is well known. Br. Rice had always been opposed to the system with its restrictions on religious training, but in deference to Dr. Murray had allowed six of his schools to adopt it. The restrictions, however, were so galling and so destructive of true education that the Chapter of 1836 decreed the abandonment of the experiment. For the rest of the period of English control in Ireland, the Brothers carried on their Primary schools without any help from the government. That was an enormous financial burden and considerably hampered their spread. But it meant that they were free to follow and develop a true system of Catholic education ; it meant that they were free to teach Irish history and the Irish language ; it meant that they were free to print and use their own books, readers in which a Catholic and national perspective was properly presented. It is safe to say that their school-books were among the few sources for a popular knowledge of Irish history in those days. And this is but one of the many advantages of their freedom to draw up their own readers. How much they thus did to break down the slave mentality that was being forced on the Irish people with savage subtlety is beyond measure. The language movement owes the Brothers no small debt ; they were free to teach Irish, and they did so to such an extent that they received public praise and thanks for their work. When we remember that they did not confine themselves to mere primary education, even before the days of the " Intermediate," we may perhaps realize how much the general education and uplift of Irish Catholics owe to their work. Many who would have received little or no education owe their start and their success to the Brothers. It is indeed no wonder that Mr. Stephen Curtis was able to say after the death of Br. Rice : " If without O'Connell the great victory of Emancipation would have been impossible, no one next to O'Connell did more to hasten it than Mr. Rice." And we may add

that, in the real work of emancipation that followed the repeal of some of the penal laws, Br. Rice and his followers have had a share that has a strong claim to be considered the most important of all such contributions to our regeneration.

With regard to their methods of education and their success in teaching, a volume could be written. Even if we were to confine ourselves to the testimony of Protestant and unfriendly witnesses at the various Commissions on Education, one could, I think, make not only a catena of positive approval but even one of superlative praise—and not merely one of superlative praise, but one of considered judgments that give the Brothers primacy of place in the teaching world. Like many another aspect of their work, this is one which would need a specialist for its adequate treatment, and it is to be hoped that their contribution to education in Ireland will at some future date be properly appreciated.

The debt of the Church, in Ireland alone, to Brother Rice is immense. Apart from the work of the religious education of the laity, there has been a steady flow of vocations to fill the ranks of the clergy. But when we remember that the Irish Christian Brothers have spread throughout the whole English-speaking world and have played more than a prominent part in education wherever they went, we can realize how great their contribution to the Church has been. At present they are working even in the mission fields, thus adding new glory to their Founder's crown. The number of eminent men, clerical and lay, who owe their career and their usefulness to the Brothers, is beyond telling. The leaders of the different political parties recently gave public testimony of their personal indebtedness. The names of Pearse and Griffith are only two of a host that came to the service of Ireland from the schools of the sons of Edmund Rice.[1]

If we touch upon all these things but sketchily and summarily, it is because our canvas is limited and the perspective of the picture demands that a more fundamental element should be emphasized. For there is a more important consideration, one that may appear strained and tedious, one which may offend some prejudices and some polite conventions. It is true that our debt—national, educational, or ecclesiastical—to Br. Rice is measured by what he has done for us. But it is the man himself and his true renown that is here under consideration. Now, Br. Rice was a Catholic and, above all, a Catholic religious. He belonged to a state of life in which personal sanctification is the first duty of each member. No amount of public service or of private greatness can supply for failure to fulfil that first duty. It is true, such service can claim our gratitude

[1] There are in all parts of the world—Ireland, England, Rome, Gibraltar, India, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, S. Africa, America, Newfoundland—some 250 houses of the Irish Christian Brothers with 82,087 pupils. Ireland has 113 houses with 41,261 pupils. That is a remarkable record—a remarkable growth of the mustard seed sown by Edmund Ignatius Rice.

and such greatness can call forth our admiration; but, at most, one can inscribe their record on a monument and that is the end of them. These things are not the man himself nor his true renown. Were we to accept the convention that distinguishes between the man and his work and allows us to praise the work without considering whether the man himself is worthy of praise, we should run the danger of seeming to accept—and even to set up—a false standard of values. More than that, we should have to set aside the true principle of fruitfulness and the true significance of the life of such a man as Brother Rice. The true principle of fruitfulness is that laid down by Christ Himself: "I am the vine, you the branches: he that abideth in me and I in him, the same beareth much fruit" (John 15, 5). If Brother Rice, during his life, brought forth much fruit, it was because he was a branch of the true Vine—always in union with Christ.

Fr. M. Eugene Boylan, O.Cist.R.

THE CHURCH IN INDIA

BY MOST REV. DR. THOMAS POTHACAMURY

Bishop of Bangalore

A WAVE of opposition to Christian missionary activities, particularly Catholic, has recently burst out in India causing widespread disquiet. In various parts of the country, nationalist leaders and the nationalist Press have expressed their antagonism to what they style " proselytising activities " and to the Christian atmosphere of Catholic colleges. This unexpected attitude of antagonism has naturally roused anxiety among the Hierarchy, the clergy, and the Christian population of the country, Catholic and Protestant. The hope that, in free and democratic India, Christians will have no cause for apprehension or gloomy forebodings has been disappointed.

The bubble burst with the conversion of two Parsi girls of Sophia College for Women, Bombay. The College, which was started by the Sacred Heart Nuns of the English Province, was affiliated to the Bombay University in January 1941. Miss Gool Dhalla, a student of the College, was baptised by the Archbishop of Bombay in September 1942. An agitation followed in the Bombay Press, and an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust surrounded the College. The campaign gradually assumed serious proportions and on August 18, 1943, the Senate of the Bombay University held a special meeting and passed the following resolution : " The Senate thinks it desirable to affirm the fundamental policy of the University, which is not to permit any activity, in educational institutions conducted by it or affiliated to it, which has for its object the conversion of students from one religion to another." This new statement of policy, striking at the root of academic freedom and of liberty of conscience, sounded a note of alarm.

In September 1943 another Parsi girl, Miss Dhun Kalapesi, who had, however, been withdrawn by her parents from the Sophia College, was baptised. Both these girls made public statements declaring that the change of religion was not brought about or influenced by the Nuns. A committee of inquiry was set up by the Syndicate of the Bombay University to investigate into the alleged conversion activities of Sophia College. The inquiry was one-sided ; neither the Principal of the College nor the two aforesaid girls nor the students of the College, who belonged to different faiths such as Hinduism and Mohammedanism, were questioned. The Committee made its proposals to the Senate, declaring that a case had been made out for the disaffiliation of the College. At a meeting held on February 12, 1944, the Senate passed a resolution by 53 against 41 recommending disaffiliation or suppression of the College on the charge of its proselytising activities.

Seldom was Christian opinion so vocal and so united as on the issue

of the Sophia College. This menace to freedom of conscience and to the safety of our institutions was challenged by the Catholic and Protestant Press and by public meetings held all over the country. The Bombay Government declined to approve the Senate resolution for disaffiliation, though it shared " the Senate's reprobation of any activity in affiliated colleges aiming at the conversion of students from one religion to another." The opponents of Christian colleges have interpreted the Bombay Government's ruling as a moral victory for them, and not only Sophia College but all " missionary colleges in the jurisdiction of the Bombay University " . . . have " been precluded from any kind of proselytising activity for ever more " (*The Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay).

The pronouncements of some leading Hindus have revealed their hostility to Christian Missions. Mr. M. S. Aney, formerly of the Viceroy's Executive Council and now India's representative in Ceylon, characterised missionary institutions as " alien and unnatural ". Mr. M. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, an organisation for the defence and promotion of Hindu religion and political interests, commenting on the observations of the *Osservatore Romano* on the expansion of Catholicism in India (telegraphed by Reuter towards the end of 1943), declared : " If the tree is judged by its fruit, then Christianity must effectively be judged by its moulding of the European and American continents, where that faith has already been 'blazing' forth in full splendour. But this full blaze is smelling suffocatingly of nothing but gunpowder and blitzkrieg."

An excuse for another anti-Catholic outburst has been discovered in the educational and evangelistic work of the Norbertine Fathers in the Prefecture Apostolic of Jubbalpore among the Gonds, an aboriginal tribe in Mandla, Central Provinces. The leaders of the campaign are Mr. A. V. Thakkar, a prominent member of the Servants of India Society (an organisation founded in order to promote the scientific and disinterested study of the political, social and economic problems of India) and Mr. Verrier Elwin, son of an Anglican missionary Bishop and an Oxford graduate, who came originally to India as a member of the Oxford Mission and worked in Poona. He gave up his orders, severed his connection with the Church of England, described his religion at the Census of 1941 as nil, turned anthropologist and married an aboriginal woman. He is carrying on a tearing campaign against the Jubbalpore Fathers on the plea of protecting the religion and culture of the aboriginals. He wants the 100 schools started by the Catholic missioners to be taken over by Government and the missioners themselves withdrawn. He would not mind the aboriginals turned into godless unbelievers, but not converted to Christianity. He threatens to have questions asked in Parliament on the ground that Mandla is a Partially Excluded Area under the Government of India Act of 1935. The purpose of this measure was to

place these areas and peoples under the special protection of the Governor in order to bestow particular care and attention on them and bring them into the main stream of Indian progress and freedom.

The trend of events in some States under the rule of Indian Princes and Rajahs furnishes another cause for anxiety. Disabilities are imposed in regard to the building of churches, the starting of schools and the opening of cemeteries. This is particularly the case in the State of Travancore, where Christians form fully one-third of the total population of six millions, Catholics being the most numerous and powerful single group with approximately 1,200,000. Seventeen Christian members of the Travancore legislature recently presented a memorandum to the Dewan (Prime Minister) of Travancore, who during the seven years of his administration has been trying to destroy the power and influence of Christianity and to weaken the Christian community in every way possible. Catholics are among the most progressive in point of education and economic status. Christian institutions have made a most valuable contribution to the spread of literacy. But they have been hit hard as a result of the withdrawal of recognition in some instances or refusal of grant in aid and the ban on religious teaching to Catholic pupils even during school hours. The twelve Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of the Travancore and Cochin issued a joint pastoral last year emphasising Catholic principles in education in face of the dangers threatening them. The Travancore Government penalises Christianity by withdrawing educational facilities to converts from backward or depressed classes. Those who, from among these classes, renounce Christianity are admitted to educational privileges, and their old Christian names and the new Hindu names are published in the official gazette. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, the Dewan of Travancore, published last year a book on "World Religions," wherein he caricatured Christ and Christianity and poured ridicule on them. An organised effort is thus being made to undermine the power and prestige of Catholicism in its earliest and most prosperous home in India.

To understand this growing opposition to Christianity among political leaders and educated classes, we must recall the background of Indian nationalism. It is mainly represented by the Indian National Congress, which is dominated by earnest and staunch Hindus, who identify patriotism with Hinduism. They look upon Christianity as a foreign religion and conversion to it as a betrayal of India's interest and as an act of disloyalty to their country. There is a widespread belief among Hindus that change from one religion to another is a crime. It has the high authority of Hindu scriptures behind it—the Bhagavad Gite. Mr. Gandhi has given Indian nationalism a distinctively Hindu stamp. That accounts, to a large extent, for the fanatical opposition of Mr. Jinnah to the Congress and his persistent demand for Pakistan—that is, separation of provinces where Mohammedans are in a majority from the rest of India. Further,

there is a strong suspicion that Christians are dominated by western missioners, are denationalised, profess beliefs and adopt practices opposed to their ancestral faith and to the traditions and customs of the country.

The othodox Hindu holds that he has all the truth he needs in his own religion. He is so engrossed in subjective feelings and experiences that he has little or no idea of objective reality and historical truth. He believes that all religions are more or less the same and lead to the same goal. With his well-known love for analogy, he compares various religions to different rivers flowing into the same ocean or different roads leading to the same city.

The Hindu is an eclectic in belief. He is free to choose what he likes and leaves the rest. He may choose a large portion of the spiritual content of another religion, but not to the extent of giving practical allegiance to it by conversion. It is his firm conviction that he ought to stay in the fold of the religion into which he was born. Mr. Gandhi once told American representatives of newspapers: "I can tell American friends nothing by way of return; I do not believe in people telling others of their faith, especially with a view to conversion . . . Believing as I do in the influence of heredity, being born in a Hindu family, I have remained a Hindu. I should reject it, if I found it inconsistent with my moral sense or spiritual growth. On examination, I have found it to be the most tolerant of all religions known to me. Its freedom from dogma makes a forcible appeal to me, inasmuch as it gives the votary the largest scope for self-expression. Not being an exclusive religion, it enables the followers of that faith not merely to respect all other religions, but it enables them to admire and assimilate whatever may be good in other faiths".

Hence, missions, proselytism and propaganda are foreign to the conception of Mr. Gandhi and of the average Hindu. He cannot think in the terms of exclusiveness. To his way of thinking, if Christianity is true it does not follow that Hinduism is false. They are both aspects of truth. Absolute truth, in the sense that it excludes what is opposed to it, does not occur to his mind. "Religion is not a way of life or a creed, but an atmosphere that pervades and enfolds the diverse elements of existence," said one well versed in Hindu modes of thinking and feeling. His own religion is not aggressive, not being a consciously missionary religion like Christianity. Change of religion, therefore, seems unnecessary and intolerant for him. He does not distinguish between Christianity and Western culture and identifies them in these days of strong nationalism. He reacts against the impact of the West and what he calls the religion of the white man, which he believes is inextricably bound up with the western type of civilization and European imperialism. Mr. Gandhi wrote in his weekly journal, the *Harijan*: "I regard all the great religions of the world as true, at any rate for people professing them, as mine is true for me."

Further, the very organisation of Hinduism presents a formidable obstacle to the spread of Christianity. In the course of long centuries, Hinduism has welded together religious practices and social customs. Caste and Hinduism are synonymous. Caste has stood the shock of centuries and, in spite of internal disruption and external aggression, it has more or less preserved its integrity and has a tremendous hold on the minds of the masses and even the educated classes. If, whilst the mightiest empires known to history—the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Roman—have perished and completely disappeared, India has carefully preserved her ancient civilization, it is because her social armature has successfully resisted all assaults from without. Even the Mohammedans, who dominated the country for five centuries, were unable to introduce a new way of life.

The very structure of Hinduism, both popular and philosophical, is a mighty citadel. It is the most perfectly systematised religion among the pagan religions. It has its theogony, its scriptures, its ritual, its mysticism, its monks and its saints. It has no official creed, approves all sects, accepts contradictory doctrines on one and the same subject and teaches the most puerile legends, unworthy of the Divine Being. Hinduism has no moral code and, as men are not generally led in their conduct by the principles of logic, it satisfies millions of souls, whose passions it in no way disturbs.

There is another cause which leads the Hindu to glorify his spiritual heritage and ancient culture. Pride in Hinduism has got into the patriotic consciousness of modern Hindus. Their philosophy and institutions have been eulogised by European scholars, who either abandoned Christianity or were agnostics. From Schopenhauer and Max Muller to Mr. H. G. Wells, comparisons have been made between Christianity and Hinduism—generally in favour of the latter. Anglican missionaries like the late C. F. Andrews and Dr. Verrier Elwin have opposed conversion work and have expressed their admiration for Hindu philosophy and teaching. The result is that the mental outlook of nationalist Hindus has been atrophied, and they do not believe in any genuine intellectual conversion to Christianity.

Despite hostility to conversion work, one of the most significant facts of modern India is the interest displayed by the educated Hindu in Christ. The interest has grown during the last three decades and has shown itself in much useful legislation for social reform. The Hindus read the New Testament, quote Christ and discuss Christian teachings and principles. Only recently, following the release of Mr. Gandhi from prison, Mrs. Labanya Prava Dutta, President of the Bengal Congress Committee, wrote to Mr. Gandhi as follows : " There is none in this world but your kind self to practise and preach, with undaunted moral courage, the religion of love and universal brotherhood for the spread of which the Lord Jesus lived, was crucified by unbelievers and still prayed for those

very persecutors, 'Oh, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.'" The Secretary of Mr. Gandhi wrote in reply: "For himself he lives in the hope that He who has sent the Cross will also give the strength to bear it" (*The Hindu*, June 15, 1944). The Hindus are willing to confess that the ethical teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ is the highest embodiment of moral perfection and the best that they know. But when it comes to organised religion, it is a different story. They will have nothing to do with Christianity as a religion.

With so many obstacles to contend against, there seems to be little cause for optimism regarding the future of the Church in India. The transfer of power to the legislatures may result in the discouragement of missionary enterprise. The opening of schools and the building of churches may be hedged round by conditions difficult to fulfil. Conversion to Christianity from among the depressed classes or "untouchables" may be penalised by the denial of educational concessions freely bestowed on the Hindus of the same class and social standing. The maintenance of the Christian atmosphere of our schools may be jeopardised by the prescription of text-books which propagate Hindu ideas and are opposed to Christianity. No penal edicts may be placed on the Statute Book against Christians and the Christian faith, but there seems to be little doubt that every effort will be made to weaken Christian influences.

The remedy lies in the close organisation of Catholic forces throughout the country and in intense and unified Catholic action. Catholics in India number four millions out of a total population of 389 millions. During the last decade ending March 1941, their increase was 32·7 per cent. against 15·2 per cent. of the general population. There are at present 58 ecclesiastical units in India—Archdioceses, Dioceses, Prefectures or Missions—grouped into ten provinces. Three archdioceses and 13 dioceses are under the administration of Indian Bishops. Nearly two-thirds of the Catholics are to be found in South India, the States of Travancore and Cochin containing 1,500,000 Catholics. When occasion demands it, Catholics may have to unite with Protestants and present a united front for the safeguard of their elementary rights and liberties.

But Catholic missioners will not be disheartened even in face of these great trials and difficulties that may beset them. They will be moved by the one and only aim of spreading the message of the Gospel in absolute obedience to the command of the Divine Founder of Christianity. Their weapons are dependence on God's providence, faith in their mission, prayer, zeal and sacrifice. World history has not recorded such marvellous achievements to the credit of any of its heroes, who "assailed fame's steepest heights and walked ambition's diamond ridge."

✠ THOMAS POTHACAMURY

BANGALORE, 8 July 1944. *Bishop of Bangalore*

STABILITY OF EMPLOYMENT

ITS POSSIBILITY AS A POST-WAR AIM

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE'S scheme for social security in Great Britain assumes that conditions of full employment will be maintained. "No satisfactory scheme of social security can be devised except on the following assumptions:—

(A) Children's allowances for children up to the age of 15 or, if in full-time education, up to the age of 16;

(B) Comprehensive health and rehabilitation services for prevention and cure of disease and restoration of capacity for work, available to all members of the community;

(C) Maintenance of employment, that is to say avoidance of mass unemployment."[1]

Sir William Beveridge has conducted a searching unofficial investigation into the third assumption, the avoidance of mass unemployment. The publication of the report of this inquiry is awaited with interest. Meanwhile the British Government has published a statement of its considered policy for the maintenance of employment after the war. The White Paper on *Employment Policy*[2] opens with the statement: "The Government accept as one of their primary aims and responsibilities the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after the war." The acceptance of the fact that full employment of the factors of production will not be realised automatically in modern society constitutes a landmark in the development of the official approach to the problem of unemployment. This fact is the keynote of the Report, which states categorically that "the first aim of employment policy—the maintenance of an adequate level of expenditure on goods and services—will no longer be realised automatically, as a by-product of the war effort or of reconstruction, but will call for the application of a policy deliberately directed to that end." Readers of the White Paper on *Employment Policy* must constantly bear in mind that it forms but a single portion of the British programme of post-war policy. Education, national health, social security, the use of the land are among the other subjects upon which policy is at present being determined. The translation of these policies into practice depends

[1] Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services. Stationery Office, Cmd.6404, par. 3017
[2] Cmd.6527. Stationery Office, 6d.

upon the expansion of British exports, which in its turn depends upon the attainment of the utmost efficiency in production, the reduction of costs to the lowest practicable level and the creation of a suitable international commercial, financial and monetary framework. All these matters are the subject of keen discussion in spite of the distraction of the war. The practice of publishing the Government's general policy in a series of White Papers is a valuable aid to educating the people and sounding public opinion, which other democratic countries might copy with advantage.

The White Paper distinguishes between the transition period from war to peace, which may prove to be lengthy, and the period when normal conditions have been restored. In the former period there will be no problem of general unemployment as there will be a shortage of labour to meet the banked-up demand for capital and consumption goods. There will be a risk of local unemployment owing to the sudden switch of demand from war to peace goods. The experience of the years following the last war has taught what to avoid this time. It is safe to predict that the boom of 1919 and the slump of 1920 will not be repeated. The following three dangers will arise after the cessation of hostilities :—

(A) " Patches of unemployment may develop where the industrial system fails to adapt itself quickly enough to peace-time production ;

(B) Demand may outrun supply and create an inflationary rise in prices ;

(C) Civilian production, when it is resumed, may concentrate on the wrong things from the point of view of national needs."

The avoidance of " patches of unemployment " will necessitate the utmost adaptability of industry and mobility of labour, both of which can be greatly assisted by appropriate government action. The danger of a runaway inflation will necessitate a continuance of price controls and rationing. Indeed, it is clear that many features of the war economy will be retained for a considerable period after hostilities have come to an end. The necessity for concentrating on the production of the nationally and socially most desirable goods will require a system of priorities in the allocation of resources. Exports, the necessaries of civilian consumption and capital goods will occupy a high place in the order of priority. During the transition period the British economic system will be " planned " in the sense that the consuming public will receive what is considered good for them rather than what they desire. This phase will, doubtless, pass with the restoration of abundance. The measures taken to avoid the development of patches of unemployment will not, however, prove ephemeral. Here short-term and long-term

policy merge. The localization of industrial production and the distribution of the labour supply will no longer be left to the free play of private self-interest. On the contrary the Government will influence the localization of production " on strategical, industrial and social considerations." The modern planner, unlike the nineteenth century protectionist, is not content to attract industries within his national frontiers. Their internal as well as their international location must be subjected to conscious control.

When the transition from war to peace has been accomplished, " there will remain for treatment those long-term problems connected with the maintenance of an adequate and steady volume of employment which eluded solution before the war." If the recurrence of slumps and chronic unemployment is to be avoided, three essential conditions will have to be satisfied :—

(A) " Total expenditure on goods and services must be prevented from falling to a level where general unemployment appears ;

(B) The level of prices and wages must be kept reasonably stable ;

(C) There must be a sufficient mobility of workers between occupations and localities."

The White Paper clearly explains the manner in which a local failure of purchasing power can rapidly develop into a general depression unless immediately checked and states that " the Government are prepared to accept in future the responsibility for taking action at the earliest possible stage to arrest a threatened slump." Expenditure is divided into five constituent parts : private consumption expenditure, public expenditure on current services, private investment expenditure, public investment expenditure, the foreign balance (the difference between imports and exports). The problem of maintaining the volume of expenditure in the community is peculiarly difficult, because " it is in private expenditure on capital equipment and the foreign balance that spontaneous variations are likely to be greatest and at the same time most difficult to control." Great Britain is unusually sensitive to variations in purchasing power abroad, and the substitution of internal activity for a diminution in the demand for exports is both technically difficult and is dangerous from the monetary standpoint owing to the strain which it imposes on the exchanges. Having drawn attention to these limitations, the White Paper lays down the following " guiding principles of the Government's policy in maintaining total expenditure " :—

(A) " To avoid an unfavourable foreign balance, we must export much more than we did before the war.

(B) Everything possible must be done to limit dangerous swings in expenditure on private investment—though success in this field may be particularly difficult to achieve.

(c) Public investment, both in timing and in volume, must be carefully planned to offset unavoidable fluctuations in private investment.

(d) We must be ready to check and reverse the decline in expenditure on consumers' goods which normally follows as a secondary reaction to a falling off in private investment."

The plans by means of which these " guiding principles " will be translated into practice are outlined in the later pages of the White Paper. Meanwhile a word must be devoted to the second and third of the " essential conditions " for the success of the scheme—namely, the stability of prices and wages and the mobility of labour. In regard to the stability of prices and wages it is stated (1) that " it will be essential that employers and workers should exercise moderation in wage matters," (2) that " the principle of stability means that increases in the general level of wage rates must be related to increased productivity due to increased efficiency and effort," (3) that " employers must seek in larger output rather than in higher prices the reward of enterprise and good management." Restrictive agreements and combines will be vigilantly watched and, if necessary, declared illegal. The third " essential condition," the mobility of labour, has already been discussed in the section of the White Paper dealing with the transitional period from war to peace. The success of the Government's employment policy clearly depends largely upon the active co-operation of employers and workers. A change of attitude on the part of business federations and of trade unions towards the maintenance of vested interests and restrictive practices will be necessary for the realization of the high degree of mobility of resources envisaged in the programme.

The Government's proposals for preventing fluctuations in total expenditure fall into two main divisions. Action must be devised to influence firstly private and public expenditure on capital, that is the rate of investment, and secondly private and public expenditure on consumers' goods and services. Private investment may respond to changes in the rate of interest, but the limits of such response are, properly, believed to be narrow. It is therefore proposed to encourage privately-owned enterprises to plan their capital expenditure in conformity with a general stabilization policy. The larger businesses would probably find it convenient and profitable to time their capital outlay so as to neutralize fluctuations, and a further inducement might be found in some system of deferred tax-credits similar to those provided during the war. Public investment on the part of the central Government and local authorities can be used as an instrument of employment policy. It is proposed that all local authorities should plan their capital expenditure five years ahead and that the rate of such expenditure should be varied by a co-ordinating authority

with the object of stabilizing employment. Public utility companies might be gradually included in a similar scheme of timed investment. Forward planning may have to be applied to the industries which supply the needs of public investment. The proposals for influencing consumption expenditure are based on the principle that variations in working-class incomes would act as a " thermostatic " control of expenditure. Main reliance would be placed on variations, in sympathy with the state of employment, in the weekly contributions to be paid by employers and employed under the proposed new system of social insurance. Variations in rates of taxation and the incorporation of some system of deferred credits as a permanent feature of national taxation would exercise a similar stabilizing effect on consumption expenditure. The Government might help to maintain employment in the consumers' goods industries by placing orders at a time of flagging private demand. Finally, hire purchase transactions might be regulated according to the state of trade.

The question arises how all these increased activities of the Government and local authorities are to be financed. While it is not contemplated that the national budget need be balanced every year, it is intended that it should be balanced in a longer period. The White Paper appears to envisage a cyclical budget to be balanced in a complete period of good and bad trade. Continuous deficit financing is definitely condemned, and the growth of deadweight debt is regarded with disapproval. The burden of debt depends, among other things, on the growth of the national income, which may be reasonably expected to expand after the war. Great importance is attached to the effect on business confidence. The administration of the scheme will necessarily be expensive. There will be a considerable amount of trial and error. The Government intends to establish, on a permanent basis, a small central staff qualified to measure and analyse economic trends and to submit appreciations of them to the ministers concerned. Clearly there will be need for the service of many skilled statisticians and economists as well as for the ordinary type of administrative civil servant. Moreover, the Government will have to possess power to take rapid action. Parliament must be willing to tolerate a great deal of delegated legislation. Finally, the success of the policy will depend largely upon the co-operation of employers, trade unions and the general public, all of whom are expected to submit to discipline and to make sacrifices.

The proposals in the White Paper greatly widen the scope of government intervention in the economic life of a capitalist society. They have been greeted as " revolutionary ". In fact, however, they represent a development of economic practice based upon developments of economic theory. The politicians are following in the footsteps of the academic economists. The White Paper itself states :—" Not long ago the ideas embodied in the present proposals were unfamiliar to the general public

and the subject of controversy among economists. To-day the conception of an expansionist economy and the broad principles governing its growth are widely accepted by men of affairs as well as by technical experts in all the great industrial countries." *The Times*, in a leading article (30 May, 1944), says: "The White Paper itself and the way it has been received are significant of the remarkable change in economic and financial thinking which has occurred since the end of the last war, particularly during the last ten or twelve years. The heterodoxy of 1931 has become the orthodoxy of 1944." Another leading article in the same newspaper (2 June 1944) says: "The White Paper involves a revaluation in popular economic thought, a complete break with the mysticism of deflation and restriction of the years between the wars." *The Economist* (3 June 1944) greets the publication of the White Paper as "a landmark in economic history," and goes on to say that it is "the very first public appearance of a whole new conception of economic policy." A month later *The Economist* (1 July 1944) states: "There is a great new development of economic policy—perhaps the most important single step forward in economic matters that has ever been taken."

The facts that the public is prepared to accept such far-reaching proposals without surprise and that the stock exchange reacted favourably to the publication of the White Paper show the extent to which British economists have succeeded in educating public opinion. The White Paper does not contain a single proposal that has not emerged from the academic controversy on the trade cycle which was largely provoked by the depressions of 1920 and 1929. Twenty years ago many of the principles embodied in the White Paper would have appeared novel to the majority of economists. All of them are today commonplace. The comparatively slight reliance on variations in the rate of interest, the cyclical budget, the careful timing of private and public investment, variable rates of payment to non-budgetary funds all reflect the results which have emerged from the intense theoretical controversy on the cause and cure of industrial fluctuations. *The New Statesman* (3 June 1944) is correct in saying: "Here we have the whole bag of tricks in orderly display—all the measures which the more progressive economists have been urging in recent years .... Here they all are, neatly set out in a manner to warm the heart of diligent professional economists who have found themselves translated from the humbler pulpits of economic non-conformity to episcopal thrones." Critics on the left, who are dissatisfied because the White Paper does not go further in the direction of socialism, have criticized it as being unduly academic. Thus Mr. Maxton stated in the House of Commons (22 June 1944): "The White Paper might have been entitled 'The musings and meanderings on the economic problems of our time by a Cambridge undergraduate'."

Ever since the birth of political economy in the eighteenth century

British economic policy has been moulded to a considerable degree by the current economic theories. The belief in freedom of trade was grounded on Adam Smith's demonstration of the beneficent effect of the division of labour. The Poor Law and the resistance to legislation to better the lot of the working-class were rooted in the theory of the iron law of wages and in Malthus's theory of population. Ricardo's demonstration of the exploitative elements in land rent hastened the repeal of the Corn Laws. Mill's conversion to what was then called socialism facilitated the task of the practical social reformers. The development of marginalism, beginning with Jevons and refined by the Cambridge school, provided arguments to justify redistributive taxation and extended social services. The influence on practical legislation of Mr. and Mrs. Webb and their fellow Fabians was and still is considerable. The two characteristic theoretical contributions of the last twenty years have been, firstly, the demonstration that periods of industrial depression should give rise to public expenditure rather than public retrenchment and, secondly, the proof that full employment of the factors of production cannot be assumed in an advanced capitalist economy. It is on these theoretical foundations that the proposals in the White Paper are built. During the great depression of 1929-32 the majority of economists combated the official Treasury view that public expenditure must be severely curtailed in order to balance the budget. The demonstration that large quantities of resources tend to remain idle, even apart from slumps, justifies public expenditure based upon borrowing which would have to be condemned as inflationary in conditions of full employment. Where the economists have led public opinion has followed, and apparently everybody today accepts the implications of the " expansionist " creed. A leading article in *The Times* (20 June 1944) states : " The idea of an expansionist economy and the broad principles governing expansion are now widely accepted by men of affairs as well as by economists and are becoming increasingly familiar to the general public."

There has been apparent in some quarters a tendency to conclude that, because the White Paper rejects some principles which were generally held in the past, it has discarded all the tenets of economic " orthodoxy ". Nothing could be further from the truth. Except for the strictly limited and well-defined innovations which it advocates, it is strictly in line with the received doctrines of economic " orthodoxy ". Economics, it cannot be too frequently repeated, is not a static science. Its premises must constantly be revised and its conclusions, in consequence, overhauled. There is nothing in the White Paper to shock any student of modern economic theory, even the most conservatively inclined. *The New Statesman* (3 June 1944), which takes the socialist standpoint, is very dissatisfied with the White Paper which " proceeds from start to finish on the assumption of a complete return to pre-war capitalism, without even the smallest

infusion of socialism at any point." Indeed in many respects it is curiously reminiscent of the Report of the Irish Banking Commission, which was criticized as too cautious and conservative. The constant insistence on the need for developing exports, the dangerous consequences of an internal expansion not accompanied by an equivalent export expansion, the warning against the accumulation of deadweight debt, the need for fuller, more punctual and more comprehensive statistics—on these four subjects it would be possible to compose parallel columns drawn from the two reports that would exhibit a striking resemblance.

Another misconception is that the White Paper envisages a highly planned, almost socialist, economy. Here again the White Paper states with the utmost emphasis that private initiative and enterprise must be the mainspring of the post-war industrial system. That productivity can best be raised by the competitive struggle of a capitalist society is explicitly stated. " The Government believe that we can make a fresh approach, with better chances of success than ever before, to the task of maintaining a high and stable level of employment without sacrificing the essential liberties of a free society." These essential liberties include the right to choose one's occupation and to spend one's income freely. A distinction must be drawn between the volume and the direction of production. It is the object of the new policy to maintain the volume of production, not to guide its direction. Within an economy of full employment consumers' needs will be provided most freely and most cheaply by the mechanism of the pricing system. It is the tempo rather than the tune of the economic orchestra that will be influenced. *The Economist* (3 June 1944), that stalwart supporter of economic liberalism, praises the White Paper especially because its proposals are consistent with individual freedom: " There are two unspoken assumptions in any full employment policy for a democracy. The first is that full employment is to be achieved without any departure from methods of persuasion and agreement; it is to be achieved under free criticism and without coercion. The second is that employment is to be devoted to supplying the idiosyncratic wants of individuals." Full employment can always be achieved by slavery or by war. Its attainment in a free population in peacetime is a different and more difficult problem.

It is interesting to enquire to what extent the proposals in the White Paper could be applied in Éire. Mr. Lemass commended the study of the White Paper to members of the Dáil (14 June 1944). In spite of differences between British and Irish conditions, he thought that it would prove " a useful guide to us in dealing with our own conditions ". The question of a programme of public works as a remedy for a trade depression is considered at some length in the Report of the Banking Commission. The effect of variations in the rate of interest on economic activity is stated to be different in different countries. The conditions of a successful

policy of public works are discussed with particular reference to the possible reactions on the balance of payments, the export position and the growth of deadweight debt (par. 218). At a later part of the Report the creation of a Deferred Charges Account is recommended to provide the financial requirements of a scheme of public works during a depression (par. 565). It is necessary to draw the attention of Irish students of economic problems to these references, because the Report of the Banking Commission is a document that everybody is prepared to condemn but few are prepared to read. As has already been stated, its conclusions on many subjects agree with those of the White Paper.

The trade cycle affects agricultural and industrial countries differently. In industrial countries the symptoms of depression are rising unemployment and business losses. In agricultural countries the volume of employment fluctuates only slightly and the results of depression are falling prices and falling incomes, which will probably cause some unemployment in the secondary industries. Generally speaking, it is true that industrial countries experience fluctuations in employment and agricultural countries fluctuations in prices. A policy directed primarily against unemployment will not do much to maintain prosperity in an agricultural country. The fluctuations in prices which characterize the course of the trade cycle in agricultural countries are usually the reflection of the fluctuations in employment in the great industrial countries. The stabilization of the price of the leading primary products, especially those of agricultural origin, is generally agreed to be desirable, and efforts to attain such stabilization by international action will certainly be made after the war. The success of such attempts will depend largely upon whether the great industrial countries, in particular the United States, succeed in maintaining employment at a high and stable level. If slumps and depressions are allowed to occur in the industrial centres, the resulting failure of demand for foodstuffs and raw materials will cause depressions in the countries that export primary products. In the highly integrated modern world the responsibility for maintaining peace and prosperity rests on the great powers. If they go to war the smaller nations are dragged in after them, and if they allow internal depressions to develop their smaller neighbours will also experience depression. Every small country must therefore study with the keenest attention any proposals that promise to maintain peace and prosperity among the great powers. The pursuit of expansionist economic policies by the leading industrial countries is the indispensable condition of world agricultural prosperity. The future of Irish agriculture, in particular, will largely depend upon the maintenance of a high level of employment in Great Britain. *The Times* very rightly states (20 June 1944): "The greatest contribution which Britain can make to the cause of human advancement is to lay the foundations of a stable and rising prosperity at home, thus helping

to provide an expanding market for the surplus products of other countries." The White Paper should therefore command the closest attention of every Irish economist and politician.

Owing to the great differences between the economic systems of Great Britain and Éire many of the suggestions contained in the White Paper would do little to maintain employment in Éire. Belief in the efficacy of monetary policy, including variations in the rate of interest, to control the trade cycle has declined in recent years. Variations in short or long rates of interest would not exert an appreciable influence on the investment decisions of the typical Irish borrower. Nor would variations in the rate of contributions to the unemployment insurance funds produce results at all comparable to those contemplated for Great Britain. Variations in the rate of income tax, together with some scheme of deferred credits, might produce some slight influence on the decisions of a few industrial investors. The number of income tax payers in Éire is, however, comparatively small, and it is hard to believe that the effect of such variations on the total economic situation would be other than trivial. Nor could any significant result be achieved by influencing the volume of hire-purchase transactions, which, though stated by the Banking Commission (par. 344) to be increasing, constitute but a small part of the total trade in consumers' goods. The proposals in the White Paper for influencing the volume of private investment and expenditure do not appear to have much relevance in Irish conditions. Variations in the rate of public expenditure might, however, produce more significant results.

Recent statements by Irish ministers have made it plain that the Government is preparing an extensive programme of public works. Two general considerations in relation to post-war public works are relevant to this article. The Banking Commission, in emphasizing the need to have regard to the effect of a public works scheme on the balance of payments, was influenced by the loss of external assets which was taking place at the time of its sessions. The war has witnessed a complete reversal of this trend. Vast external assets have been accumulated in the last five years. These assets should be used immediately after the war to the extent that it is possible to use them. The necessity to build up additional exports stressed in the British White Paper will not be nearly as pressing in Éire. On the contrary, the Irish problem will be to expand imports rather than exports. At the same time, the attention paid by the Banking Commission to maintaining a balanced external position in the long period must not be disregarded. When priorities are being allotted to different parts of the programme of public works, preference should be given, other things being equal, to projects that will ultimately help to swell the volume of exports. Capital expenditure, for example, that will increase agricultural productivity or develop the tourist industry should be preferred, other things being equal, to expenditure with purely internal repercussions.

The second general consideration is the relation between public works and the national debt. There is no need to repeat the distinction fully discussed in an earlier number of *Studies*[1] between borrowing which is self-liquidating, which is directly productive, which is indirectly productive and which is wholly unproductive. As was explained in the earlier discussion, every one of these types of borrowing may possess complete justification, but it is only the first type that adds nothing to the deadweight debt. Additions to the deadweight debt may be a disagreeable necessity, but they should never be lightly undertaken without full advertence to their possible consequences on the public finances. Self-liquidating investment should always, other things being equal, be preferred to investment which, though directly or indirectly productive, increases the deadweight debt; and investment which is directly or indirectly productive should, again other things being equal, be preferred to expenditure that results in the creation of no productive asset. Mere relief works should be, if possible, avoided. The White Paper emphatically states that " the Government have had in mind the general aim of securing for the nation the most effective use both of its man-power and of its material resources. That aim can be achieved only if the whole productive power of the nation is employed efficiently; it is not enough that it should be employed." Work for work's sake is not a rational policy. Work that does not produce some useful commodity or service is a loss rather than a gain. If the national income is increased as a result of the public expenditure, the emergence of additional deadweight debt may be tolerated, though without approval. The White Paper states that " proper limits on public borrowing depend on the magnitude of the debt charge in relation to the rate of growth of the national income." The reason that the Banking Commission was alarmed at the expansion of the deadweight debt was that the Irish national income showed no sign of a corresponding expansion. Again the White Paper corroborates the findings of the Banking Commission. Employment that is not productive is not worth the cost of its provision, and the test of productiveness is the effect on the size of the national income. The new expansionist economic theory does not justify relief works or the mere sharing of employment by shortening the working day, week, year, or life. To be truly expansionist, public works must result in an expansion of the production of goods or services that are available either for direct consumption or to pay for the numerous imports which every modern community requires. While unemployment is admittedly an evil, employment is not an end in itself. Wealth, not work, is the end of economic activity.

GEORGE O'BRIEN

[1] " Arterial Drainage in Ireland ", December 1941.

SIR ROBERT KANE: LIFE AND WORK

BY T. S. WHEELER, D.SC.

State Chemist

PART II: 1844—1890*

WHEN the Irish Topographical Survey was started in 1825-6, it was decided that information of every kind—including natural history, geology, statistics, topographical history and antiquities—should be obtained. Specimens of all types were collected and sent to the Survey Office in the Phœnix Park. A stop was soon put to this however, as it was desired to prosecute the topographical work as rapidly as possible, though some geological work was still permitted. Then, about 1832, the project was resumed under Portlock; but in 1840 it was again abandoned. Portlock was, however, permitted to prepare and publish his famous report (the centenary of this publication was commemorated in 1943 by the Royal Dublin Society) on the geology of "The County of Londonderry and of parts of Tyrone and Fermanagh." Kane contributed some analyses to this report. In addition the "Templemore Memoir," which contained for a single parish in County Derry the varied information originally intended to be collected for the whole country, was published in 1837. This was the work mainly of Captain Larcom (afterwards Sir Thomas Larcom, Under-Secretary for Ireland), Petrie, Portlock and O'Donovan.

I

On 19 June 1843, a number of noblemen and gentlemen connected with Ireland met at the London House of the Marquis of Downshire and decided to send a deputation to the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, to request him to put again into operation the original survey scheme. The Royal Irish Academy also petitioned Sir Robert in the same sense. The Prime Minister referred the matter to a Commission, pointing out in his Minute of Instruction that, since the account of a single parish constituted a volume of nearly 400 pages, a similar description of the whole country would involve great labour and expense. The Commission examined a number of witnesses and sent a questionnaire to Kane, requesting his opinion on the possibility of analysing the soils, waters and organic products of each county. Kane enthusiastically supported the plan for a complete survey—stating that, as far as chemical

* For Part I see last (June) issue.

work was concerned, two to three counties could be examined each year. In particular he agreed that it was essential to establish in Dublin a Museum of Economic Geology for the exhibition of specimens of minerals collected in the course of a geological survey. He stated that, for several years, he had been most anxious to form an Irish Technical Museum and had devoted all his spare time and much money to that object, only to be convinced that the project could not be accomplished save by public means. He believed that a Museum of this type, coupled with a well-directed system of industrial education, would rapidly achieve a profound change in the aspect of the country.

Kane also supplied in August 1843, at the further request of the Commission, a sketch of what he considered should be the materials for a proper memoir of the productive economy of each district. It outlined an elaborate scheme involving an examination, for each district, of the physical character, climate, distribution of fuel, the soil, minerals, industrial zoology, and means of communication. The Commission in November 1843 recommended that the original plan of preparing a comprehensive memoir for each district should be revived. The Board of Ordnance should continue to direct the topographical survey; a geological survey should be initiated under the direction of the head of the English Survey; while Kane and Petrie respectively were suggested as technical directors of new economic and antiquarian sections. The establishment of a Museum of Economic Geology in Dublin was also recommended.

Sir Robert Peel, however, accepted but part of these recommendations. He set up an Irish Geological Survey as a branch of the British Survey, attaching to it a Museum of Economic Geology. Kane was offered first the post of Curator and Chemist to the Museum under the Director-General of the Survey; but after correspondence the offer was modified, and in 1845 he was appointed Director of the Museum responsible directly to the Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests and with permission to retain his other posts. At first Kane was directed to confine the work of the Museum solely to the exhibition of geological specimens with illustrations of their technical application; but in 1847 his recommendation to extend the scope of the Museum to embrace manufactures was accepted, and the title was changed to the " Museum of Irish Industry ". Kane would have preferred " Irish Industrial Museum," but this was not accepted until much later.

To house the Museum and the Offices of the Irish Geological Survey, Kane, on behalf of the Government, purchased (in 1846) 51 St. Stephen's Green, in which the Office of Public Works now is. It had, formerly, been the town house of Lord Castlecoote. Some of the rooms were at once temporarily fitted up to receive the collections of minerals and fossils and of Irish fauna and flora made by the Officers of the Survey, and the

Irish Geological Survey also moved in. The erection of new galleries and of other buildings began in 1847, but was not completed until 1852 when the definitive arrangements and classification of the several collections was taken in hand. All this preliminary organisation meant much work for Kane; but he had obtained by this time the services of W. K. Sullivan, an able chemist who had been trained under Liebig (Sullivan later was a Professor at the Catholic University and at the Royal College of Science; eventually he succeeded Kane as President of Queen's College, Cork).

II

When in 1845 the Government founded the three Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork and Galway, Kane was offered the Presidency of the Cork College. When sounded as to his willingness to accept this offer, he stated that he was prepared to resign his two chairs and give up his "very extensive and very lucrative scientific professional practice;" but, since the cause of technical education in Ireland was one of his main interests in life, he desired to retain the Directorship of the recently established Museum of Economic Geology and to be permitted to reside in Dublin. The Government acceded to Kane's wishes and he, accordingly, in 1846 resigned his Professorship to the Apothecaries' Hall and tendered his resignation to the Royal Dublin Society. At the request of the Council, however, which was anxious that his services should be available at the triennial exhibition of manufactures to be held in the spring of 1847, he postponed his resignation until November of that year.

Kane's appointment to Cork was followed by the honour of knighthood. On 16 February 1846, after the fourth annual distribution of premiums to the successful pupils of the Drawing and Modelling Schools of the Royal Dublin Society, Mr. L. E. Foot, Honorary Secretary of the Society, introduced Kane to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Heytesbury, who was presiding, referred to him as the latest admitted Honorary Member, and gave a short account of his distinguished career. Thereupon His Excellency, who spoke in a low voice and seems to have been heard with difficulty, remarked that he would be exceedingly sorry if it were supposed that Her Majesty's Government appreciated less than the Society Kane's learning and talents. Then directing him to kneel at the foot of the chair, he conferred the order of knighthood upon him amid the enthusiastic plaudits of the assembly. Sir Robert made an eloquent speech of thanks; he must have had some inkling of what was coming, for (as printed) his oration smells somewhat of the lamp.

That same year, Lord Heytesbury called the newly-appointed Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the three Queen's Colleges before him,

and instructed them to form themselves into a Committee and to prepare statutes for the government of the Colleges. Kane was Chairman of this " Board of Colleges " as it was called. The members met very frequently at first, but the tragedy of the famine delayed their work—for Kane, at any rate, had many emergency duties at this time.

III

The potato blight first showed itself in Ireland in the late autumn of 1845. Peel sent over two British Scientists, Professor Lyon Playfair of the School of Mines and Geological Survey and Professor John Lindley of University College, London, to co-operate with Kane in an inquiry into the nature of the blight ; they were also to ascertain, if possible, the best manner of protecting potatoes against its ravages. But the problem was beyond the scientific resources of the Committee and indeed of the time. Kane carried out numerous experiments in conjunction with the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland, of whose Council he was a member. The object of the experiments was to save the potatoes that had been but slightly affected : the lines of investigation comprised treatment with salt, lime, or chloride of lime ; drying by artificial heat ; parboiling ; crushing and drying the sound part of the potato and saving the meal ; covering up the tubers in the ground with clay or straw to exclude air and moisture. Particular attention was directed to the production of potato starch, prizes being given for the design of simple machines for the purpose. Recovery of starch, had it been possible on a large scale, might have been of value ; but starch alone is no substitute for the potato.

The efforts of the Committee and of many other investigators were unavailing. An observation that blight was not present in potatoes growing near Welsh copper refineries passed unnoticed ; it was not until the early eighties that a French botanist observed, in the vineyards, that the grapes growing beside the paths, which had been treated with a mixture of copper sulphate and lime to make them unattractive to passers-by, had not been attacked by " Mildew ". Thus " Bordeaux Mixture " emerged as a cure for Vine Mildew ; its application to potatoes followed, and in 1890, the year of Kane's death, spraying was first tried on a small scale in Ireland.

The Government also made extensive use of Kane's administrative experience during this critical period. In 1846 he was appointed one of the eight Irish Relief Commissioners—the others being high officers of the Government—who had the enormous task of supervising the general distribution of food to the starving peasantry. In 1847 he was placed, with a number of famous doctors including Corrigan and Crampton, on a Central Board of Health to deal with the out-break of typhus fever which

followed the famine. This Board controlled no less than 326 hospitals and dispensaries with accommodation for 23,000 patients. It is a tradition in the Kane family that the Lord Lieutenant was largely advised by Sir Robert in the administrative measures taken to fight the famine.

IV

Turning now to Kane's major activities, we will deal first with the progress of the Museum of Irish Industry, through which he eventually achieved his aim of establishing a college designed to train applied rather than academic scientists. Under his direction the organisation of the collections in the Museum proceeded apace; they were arranged under two heads, geological and industrial. The former class comprised specimens collected by the officers of the geological survey in Ireland, together with typical specimens from the British survey and a small collection of European rocks. There was also a set of fossils collected in the early days of the Ordnance Survey under the direction of Portlock, whose collection of Irish fauna and flora was also kept in the Museum pending the provision of suitable storage accommodation.

The industrial or technological collections showed Irish building materials, stones, flags, cements, Irish fuels, Irish ores of various kinds, their treatment and uses; compounds of the most important metals with illustrations of their manufacture. There were also models of chemical plants—*e.g.* those relating to the manufacture of sulphuric acid and soda—together with an exhibit of ceramic and glass products and of the processes employed in their production. The organic division of the industrial collection illustrated the technical applications of vegetable and animal substances such as wood, flax, cotton and silk. The value of these exhibits was greatly enhanced by a fine display of models of machinery and of Irish boats and fishing gear. The labelling of the various exhibits was thorough and the Museum, when it developed, was considered one of the best of its kind. Kane was particularly proud of his collection of Irish marbles; he had the hall of the Museum panelled with various types of this marble (the panelling is still in place), and he believed that this exhibit was responsible for an increased use of Irish marble for decorative purposes.

Kane also organised in the Museum a science library which forms the nucleus of the present library in the University Science Buildings in Upper Merrion Street. In addition he developed a chemical department with Sullivan in charge. The latter, and an assistant who was later appointed, had to analyse rocks and soils for the geological survey, to make analyses for Government Departments, much as is done by the present State Laboratory, and to carry out special chemical investigations ordered by the Director or by the Government. Kane and Sullivan made a number of industrial investigations—one, for example, being

ncerned with the products obtained by the destructive distilla-
on of peat. The best known, however, is their inquiry into the possi-
lity of growing beet as a source of sugar, a project discussed by Kane in
s *Industrial Resources*. Their comprehensive experiments showed that
et with a satisfactory sugar content could be grown in Ireland. Years
ere, however, to pass before their opinion in regard to the advantages of
anufacturing sugar from beet root could be confirmed in actual practice.

The Exhibition of 1851 showed that British Industry was losing its
remier place owing to the manner in which the continental nations were
stering applied science. Accordingly a new Department of Science
nd Art was created as a Branch of the Board of Trade to develop the
aching of science and art, and the Museum of Irish Industry was trans-
rred to this Department in March 1853. The following year it was
ecided to organise the Museum, on the educational side, as a School of
cience in accordance with the objects for which Kane had worked.
he Royal Dublin Society was informed that it was proposed to relieve
of its superintendence of its educational staff, in order that the latter
ight be made available to the public for instruction in applied science.
he Society protested strongly against the proposal, sending a deputation
o London for the purpose. The Members had always felt that the
Museum should initially have been set up under their control, and they
ow asked that it should be handed over to them. After discussion the
Government compromised and installed what, in the end, proved a
umbrous and difficult scheme to work. A " Committee of Lectures "
as formed and entrusted with the general arrangement of elementary
ectures, which were to be common to the two institutions, and also of
he Society's provincial lectures. To the Museum remained the organ-
sation of the regular course of industrial education which it was proposed
o establish. The Committee consisted of eight members, four elected
y the Society and four appointed by the Crown.

In accordance with the Government's decision, the Society's Pro-
essors of Physics (Natural Philosophy) and Botany, Drs. Barker and
Harvey, were transferred to the Museum ; the Director of the Irish
Geological Survey (J. Beete Jukes) became Professor of Geology ; Sullivan
became Professor of Chemistry ; later Dr. Kinahan became Professor of
Zoology and Robert Galloway was appointed to deal with practical
hemistry. The Society's Professors of Chemistry and Mineralogy were,
n view of their advanced age and their long and able services, not trans-
erred. The Museum had now for its full title " Museum of Irish
ndustry and Government School of Science applied to Mining and
he Arts." All these Professors were called " Professors of the Science and
Art Department " as pertaining equally to all the authorities involved.

The teaching scheme, as indicated above, embraced two kind of
ectures : systematic lectures, for which a fee was charged, and which

were delivered in the Museum under the direction of Kane; and popular courses, which were given either in the Museum or in the Society's premises; these popular courses came under the control of the Committee, as did the popular lectures in provincial towns. The arrangement as will be seen involved a dual authority, while the Professors had to divide their time between two buildings and transport lecture apparatus backwards and forwards as required. Friction was bound to occur and it did occur, so that the Government finally had to intervene.

V

In 1862 the Treasury, feeling that the work of the Museum and of the Society to some extent overlapped, set up a Commission. This Commission recommended that Kane's office should be abolished and that the Museum of Irish Industry should be united with the Royal Dublin Society; they also suggested that the Society should receive and subsequently disburse the government grants assigned to the Royal Irish Academy and other Institutions in Dublin. These recommendations raised a storm of protest. Objection was taken not only to the composition of the Commission, but also to the fact that it was held on the Society's premises; further the press was refused admission and, with the exception of Kane, the witnesses were all persons directly connected with the Society. As a result a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1864 to inquire into the condition of the Scientific Institutions in Dublin which were assisted by the Government. This Committee reported against the amalgamation of the Museum with the Society, but considered that the latter should be relieved of these educational functions for which it was not specially adapted.

In 1865 the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, having considered the reports of the 1862 Commission and of the 1864 Committee, decided that the Irish Industrial Museum as it was now called should be converted into a College of Science affording complete instruction in those branches of Science more immediately connected with all descriptions of industry, including Agriculture, Mining, and Manufactures. The Museum was to hand over to the Royal Dublin Society the Portlock Natural History Collections temporarily stored there and to receive from the Society its collection of physical instruments and apparatus. Thus was realised Kane's aim for which he had worked so many years—the establishment of higher technical education in Ireland.

The Privy Council on Education set up a Commission, under the Chairmanship of Lord Rosse and with Kane and Sullivan among the members, to make recommendations in regard to courses of study, examinations, staffing and other relevant details. The Department of Science

and Art, while generally accepting their recommendations, decided that the new Royal College of Science did not need a Director, believing it to be impossible for any one man to supervise or direct instruction in the whole range of science to be taught in it. It was felt that " some layman of administrative capacity and of sufficient distinction to carry weight, but unbiassed by any special scientific predilections, would (if one were required) be the proper head of an institution of this nature. At present, however, we consider that a council of professors, with a dean of faculty, to be an organisation more adapted to the requirements of a College of Science. The dean would be the organ of the professors in all communications with the Science and Art Department. He would preside at all meetings, where he should have a casting vote, and generally represent the professorial body. The office should be annual and filled by rotation according to seniority of appointment." The executive and secretarial business was to devolve on a permanent secretary, who would be the agent and representative of the Department in all affairs.

In accordance with these decisions the Secretary of the Department wrote to Kane on February 21, 1867, stating that under the new arrangements his present office ceased, and their Lordships regretted that there was no appointment on the staff of the new college that could be offered to one of his eminence. " They are glad to think, however, that your leaving the Museum of Irish Industry, of which you have been so long the head, will not entirely deprive the country of your able and valuable services in the furtherance and direction of education in Ireland. It is to these zealous services that the Museum of Irish Industry owes, in so great a degree, its present position."

Thus after twenty-two years as Director of the Museum and just as his efforts for industrial education had attained success, Kane found that his services were no longer required. It is probable that the Government was influenced by a volume of opinion, particularly in Cork, which objected to Kane's holding a post other than the Presidency of Queen's College, Cork. However, members of the Museum Staff protested, and it was agreed that Kane should be permanent Dean of the new College and that, during his retention of that office, the arrangement for annual rotation should remain in abeyance. Dr. Sidney, Secretary of the Committee of Lectures (now abolished), was made Secretary of the College of Science. Kane remained Dean of the College until 1873, when (as will be seen later) he resigned all his offices.

VI

We must now retrace our steps to the late forties when Kane, finished with his work in connection with the famine and busy with the organisation of his Museum, once more turned his attention to the Queen's Colleges.

Late in 1846, after the work of the Relief Commission had ceased, Kane was requested by the Lord Lieutenant, at the suggestion of Archbishop Murray, to proceed to Belgium, Germany and France to examine and report on the secular educational institutions of these countries. He was asked to pay particular attention to the courses of study in the moral and political sciences and to the arrangements for the moral and religious discipline of the students. He made a full report of this journey to the Government in 1847, and in 1848 this report was used in the preparation of the Charters and Statutes of the Queen's Colleges.

The Statutes were confirmed by Letters Patent in 1849 ; the building of the Colleges, for which £100,000 had been given, proceeded. The Queen's University was founded in 1850, and the first examinations were held in 1851. There had been some disagreement among members of the Board in regard to the university examinations ; in fact the majority of the members wanted the degree examinations to be held by the Colleges, not by the University. The Government as usual supported Kane. The character of the education, purely secular, which these Colleges were to provide, had also produced much dissension in the country. The bulk of the Liberal Irish Members of Parliament gave the scheme a cordial welcome and were heartily supported by Davis. O'Connell took the opposite view and a serious disagreement between the two leaders resulted. Both died shortly afterwards. The majority of the Irish Bishops approved the general design, but required certain modifications, which were not granted.

The Cork College was opened in October 1849, and in November of that year Kane delivered an eloquent inaugural address in which he referred to his journey, mentioned above, to examine continental systems of university education. On the following April, at a banquet given to him in Cork to celebrate the opening of the College, Kane delivered another eloquent speech. There is one passage in it which, to modern ears, has a strange ring. Victorians such as Kane, no matter now liberal they might be, could not imagine university education for the poor. Referring to the excellent education given by the National Board and the Christian Brothers to the lower classes, he remarked that the gentry and middle classes must look to their laurels, for " those who know most will govern". It was necessary, he said, for the middle and upper classes of society to retain, by superior education, that honourable but responsible influence which is the natural prerogative of their wealth and hereditary position, but which would be seriously endangered were they to be found ignorant and inactive in face of a highly instructed and energetic population of poor. " And it has been to me a source of unqualified pleasure and congratulation that this great and respectable assembly, under the auspices of you, Sir, who have been so worthily called to the eminent position of Chief Magistrate of this important City, should have received, in so kind

and complimentary a manner, your reference to my connection with the system of university education which has been organised for the benefit of the upper and middle classes of the Irish people."

Kane hoped all along that the new system of education might have the approval of the Bishops. However the Synod of Thurles held in August 1850, whose decrees were approved by the Pope the following year, forbade all clerics from taking any part in the work of the Colleges and, while not actually prohibiting attendance, warned the laity against them. This was a blow to Kane, who realised that, in view of the decision of the Bishops, the Colleges had little chance of real success. In an effort to influence favourably ecclesiastical policy, he had arranged that his inaugural address, in which he had done his best to meet clerical criticism, should be translated into Italian and sent to Rome to the authorities there. Unfortunately the translation of the address was entrusted to Signor Basilio Angeli, Professor of Italian and Spanish in Trinity College. Angeli, who had been for years a teacher in Dublin, had been appointed to his chair on the strength of an application which was afterwards found to contain statements as to his training and experience which were not strictly accurate. The Board of Trinity College was beginning to doubt his worth, when his translation of Kane's address was printed and sent to Rome. There it caused a furore, but not of the type that Kane intended. Angeli's education had been mainly that of a tradesman, and he had not properly understood Kane's rounded periods and literary allusions, nor could he write better than provincial Italian. His crowning error was his rendering of " Ladies and Gentlemen " as " Gentlemen of both sexes," an effort which caused Cardinal Antonelli to make the not altogether original remark that Cork must be a queer city. Eventually the Professor lost his post, and Rome was not impressed.

VII

The Italian translation was a bad beginning for Kane, but worse was to follow. It will be remembered that he made it a condition of appointment as President of the College that he should not be required to reside in Cork. However, initially he changed his family residence to the quarters provided in the University and lived there from 1849 to 1852. He says himself that family circumstances forced him to change his home back to Dublin. The tradition in Cork is that Lady Kane did not wish to live there, and the family tradition is that she was a very strong-minded woman, while Sir Robert was primarily a man of peace. At any rate Kane spent a considerable portion of the academic year in Dublin, and these prolonged absences had an unfortunate effect on the government of the College. University Professors are jealous of any interference with their academic freedom, and an attempt to control the Faculties in Cork by a President living in Dublin was bound to fail.

Under the Statutes the College was administered by a Council consisting of the President, Vice-President, the Deans of the Literary and Science divisions of the Arts Faculty, together with the Medical and Legal Deans; but no resolution of the Council could come into operation until it had received the signature of the President or, in his absence, of the Vice-President acting by his authority. Soon after the opening of the College, differences arose between Kane and his Vice-President, Dr. John Ryall, particularly in regard to the action of the latter in laying some correspondence before the Council while Kane was in Dublin. The opinion grew in the Council that Kane was dictating to them from Dublin. Tension increased, internecine strife flourished, and Kane found himself accused of misinterpreting the Statutes, which he himself had had a major share in drafting. In 1853 the Council, while Kane was in Dublin, held a meeting which adopted a memorial to the Queen impeaching Kane's administration. To make matters worse the Council gave much publicity to this document, copies being sent to the Press and to Members of Parliament. In view of this behaviour, Kane absented himself from the Council for the remainder of the Session and sent a protest to the Government. No action was taken, however, though Kane was informed that he had the support of the authorities.

Some months later, attempts at a *rapprochement* were made, the Memorial was withdrawn, and a bare legal statement of the questions involved was submitted to the Government for decision. The points in dispute were: (1) the right of the President to withhold his signature from any resolution of the Council; (2) his right to prohibit the issue of correspondence ordered by the Council or to originate correspondence without reference to the Council; (3) the authority of the Vice-President in the absence of the President; (4) whether the issue of the statutory Annual Report lay with the President or with the Council. The Government took no notice of this communication; but matters improved until, in 1854, a student, J. Pope-Hennessy, afterwards M.P., a Knight and a Colonial Governor, was penalised for failing to attend a sufficient number of lectures in Natural History. This student requested an Extraordinary Visitation, and the relevant papers were sent by Kane to the Lord Chancellor. Kane, however, omitted to forward the official record of Pope-Hennessy's attendance and, at a subsequent meeting of the Council, stated that he had not received it from the Vice-President; but on examination he found it in his despatch box. This led to a final break with the Vice-President.

Kane himself stated to the Royal Commission of 1858 that much of the trouble in the College arose from his own over-anxiety to force matters in the early days. His enthusiasm induced him to interfere with the Professors in regard to details of their work. For example, he suggested to the Irish scholar Owen Connellan, who held the chair of Celtic Langua-

s (a subject for which no students presented), that he should give instead me public lectures. Connellan submitted a medical certificate showing at his health did not permit of public lecturing and resigned his chair. e was prevailed on by some of his colleagues to withdraw his resignation nile Kane was accused of having put undue pressure on him. Connellan d no hand in making this untrue charge ; indeed he spoke most highly Kane before the Royal Commission.

Again, Kane insisted on Mr. C. B. Lane, the Professor of Civil ngineering, increasing the amount of time given to field instruction Kane was much ahead of his age in his insistence on the value of practical ork). This action led to trouble with the Science section of the Faculty Arts and to a reference to the Government, who supported the President. ane resigned shortly after to take up a post in Brazil—stating, in his tter of resignation to the Lord Lieutenant, that no man of character ould remain at Cork without being subjected to frequent annoyance.

Kane also had trouble with George Boole the Professor of Mathe- atics, a man of international reputation, when he suggested that geometry as not well taught in the College. Here, too, Kane had right on his de, for Portlock (who had become Superintendent of Woolwich) com- ained to Kane about lack of geometrical knowledge in students from ork.

During all these years of trouble Kane, although exposed to much ublic criticism, maintained a dignified silence. In 1856, however, he as unfortunately stung into action by an article which appeared in the ork *Daily Reporter* blaming him for the fewness of the public lectures elivered under university auspices at Cork. He was also attacked for evoting his time to the more favoured institution in Dublin. The aper said that, although the question of his non-residence in Cork had ng been publicly debated, he had never ventured to vindicate his position, that it must be concluded that there was nothing to be said in s defence. Kane had put up with more trying attacks ; but this one as particularly unjust, and he accordingly wrote to the *Cork Examiner* efending himself. To this Boole replied in an anonymous communication hich, however, he afterwards acknowledged. Kane sent a strongly- orded reply in which he dealt with many of the matters in dispute at e College, and the correspondence closed with a final letter from Boole rotesting against Kane's frequent absences in Dublin.

The spectacle of the President and a Professor ventilating their fferences in the public press was too much even for the Government, articularly as others intervened in the dispute bringing in sectarian nd similar issues ; there was also a public demand for an inquiry. The sual Royal Commission was set up to inquire into the progress and onditions of the Queen's Colleges. The Commission, after a detailed vestigation in which much dirty linen was washed, found that the mass

of personal altercation which had occurred in Cork was due primarily to the neglect of the Government to resolve the differences which had arisen in respect of the interpretation of the Statutes governing the President's powers. The Council was censured for its behaviour in regard to the Memorial and for the publicity it had given to its grievances. Kane, on the other hand, was rebuked for his appeal to the public press. The Commission considered that residence in the College should be obligatory on the President. It paid a general tribute to the efficiency of Kane's work, which had been praised by the body of the Professors—with the majority of whom he was on excellent terms.

Consequent on the report of the Commission, Kane was in 1858 required by the Irish Government to undertake to reside in Cork during the College Session. The Department of Science and Art felt, however, that his duties at the Museum were incompatible with this undertaking, and in 1860 he was called upon to elect between the two offices. Kane stated that he would resign his Presidency provided he was adequately compensated. In this connection he pointed out to the Lord Lieutenant that he had accepted the Presidency under an agreement which permitted him to reside in Dublin and continue as Director of the Museum; further, he had given up two professorial chairs and a lucrative scientific practice which extended to the English manufacturing districts. He also referred to the fifteen best years of his life expended in the public service. The Lord Lieutenant was sympathetic; but the Treasury, as usual, was not—unfortunately the file in the State Paper Office ends here; presumably the rest of the correspondence is in the Science and Art Department archives in London. However, the pressure on Kane to resign one of his offices was relaxed, though in 1862 we find the matter again the subject of discussion in the House of Commons—the Chief Secretary stating that Kane would now be required to elect for one office. Possibly the fact that the future of the Museum was in the melting-pot, until it became the Royal College of Science in 1867, caused the matter to be shelved.

In May 1862 the east wing of the College was destroyed by fire—which inspection, after it had been extinguished, showed to have been started maliciously. Apart from the worry caused by problems of reconstruction, the fire brought other troubles for Kane—e.g. with Dr. Denis Bullen, Professor of the Practice of Surgery—but space does not allow us to go into details. In any case, Kane was completely cleared, while Bullen was removed from his office in spite of appeals to the Chief Secretary and to the Lord Lieutenant. The remainder of Kane's tenure of office in Cork passed uneventfully until in 1873, when he had been President for 28 years, he resigned his heavy task. His letter of resignation, dated 5 August 1873, pointed out that he was over 60 years of age—if we take 24 September 1809 as the date of his birth, he was then practically 64 years of age. Resignation from the Deanship of the Museum of Irish

Industry followed when he was informed that, under Treasury Regulations, he could not obtain any superannuation allowance unless he retired from both his offices at the same time.

VIII

Although Kane had resigned all his official appointments in 1873, he was much too active a man to remain idle. The year of his resignation he travelled in Italy with Lady Kane and his youngest daughter Florence. After his return from the Continent he held many other honorary posts. In 1875 he became a Commissioner of National Education, an office which he filled for the remainder of his life. He was a Member of the Council of Dublin University from 1874 until 1884 and Vice-Chancellor of the Queen's University during the last two years of its existence, having been a member of the Senate since its foundation. He was in 1880 nominated in the charter of the Royal University a foundation member of its Senate. He remained a member until his death and served also on the standing committee. But it was the Royal Irish Academy, of which he had been a member for over 40 years, which provided his chief interest in his retirement. In 1846 he had resigned his office as Secretary of the Council, but at intervals he was on the Science Section of the Council and a Vice-President up to 1877, when he was elected President of the Academy in succession to his old chief Dr. William Stokes. For the next five years he guided the destinies of the Academy with the same skill and application as he had those of the Museum of Irish Industry and Queen's College, Cork. In 1882, having completed five years of office, he did not seek re-election ; he was, however, elected to the Science Committee of the Council—on which he remained until his death. He was succeeded as President by his great friend Sir Samuel Ferguson.

Kane was getting old ; his energy still remained. In the summer of 1885, he travelled to London to give evidence before a House of Commons Committee on Irish Industries ; Parnell, Justin McCarthy and Sexton were members, though Parnell attended but once. Kane's evidence was most interesting. He had a lifetime of experience behind him, and during three days he answered nearly 1,000 questions with all his usual clearness and accuracy ; age had not in any way affected his mental faculties. He still felt that, in spite of previous failures, the manufacture of beet sugar could be successfully undertaken in Ireland, and in general he adhered to many of his conclusions of 40 years before. He made one qualification, however ; in view of the great depression in the value of mineral products, he now believed that it would be unprofitable to work the majority of the Irish minerals. Also he felt that the famine had set back all progress in Ireland for a generation and had killed the spirit of

industrial enterprise prevalent in the early forties. His evidence before this House of Commons Committee was Kane's last public act. His wife died some months later after forty-eight years of happy married life.

IX

As he grew older, it was Kane's custom to take a house in Dublin for the winter, and for 1889-90 he moved from Killiney to 2 Wellington Road. He was in his eightieth year, but his mind was still active, and he was busy on a translation of *Ivanhoe* into Spanish ; his other achievements tend to make one forget his linguistic gifts. His usual good health continued almost to the end, and it was but a short illness that preceded his death. On February 16, 1890 a light which had shone steadily for many years to illuminate the path of scientific research and of higher education in Ireland went out—a light that has never been adequately replaced.

Kane is one of the most distinguished of our Irish chemists ; few before or since have achieved the same international reputation ; few can point to the same number of fundamental discoveries. His great book still influences Irish thought, while in the Museum of Irish Industry and later in the Royal College of Science, he first gave Irish youth an opportunity of obtaining higher training in technology—without which no industrial revival is possible. It is said that an institution is the lengthened shadow of a great man ; the Royal College of Science, until it was closed, stood in this relation to Kane. He was also mainly responsible for the statutes and regulations governing the Queen's Colleges and thus helped to lay the foundations of general university education in Ireland.

Kane's flexibility of mind was remarkable ; he touched many things and all that he touched he adorned. In pure chemistry, in applied chemistry, in natural philosophy, in education, in administration—in all these things he left a mark. He was a brilliant speaker and an effective writer and had much linguistic ability. All his contemporaries refer to his tact and charm of manner. Only his strength of character could, at one and the same time, have overcome the opposition of the Museum of Irish Industry and the difficulties encountered at Queen's College, Cork. The Celtic Cross which surmounts his grave at Glasnevin bears no epitaph ; but the words of the Holy Writ " Seest thou a man diligent about his business ? He will stand before kings " might well have served. For Kane had always been diligent about his business, and he had risen to stand—to tower—among the great men of his day.

T. S. Wheeler

DIONYSUS, THE DITHYRAMB, AND THE ORIGIN OF TRAGEDY

BY MICHAEL TIERNEY

Professor of Greek, University College, Dublin

FEW historical problems are so perplexing in themselves or so encumbered by excess of modern speculation as that of the origin of ragedy. Our positive knowledge on the subject is derived from an igmatic passage in the *Poetics* of Aristotle, eked out by a series of tenth-nd and frequently bizarre references in the works of certain medieval rveyors of miscellaneous general information. Even the exact meaning the word " tragedy " itself is uncertain, and if we wish to obtain an ea of the quality of some of our sources of knowledge, we have only turn to the definition given by the scholiast on Dionysius Thrax[1]: Now this is the etymology of Tragedy. It is so called either because e victors got a goat as prize, as meaning ' song for the goat ' ; or the *a* to be turned into *u* and it means *trugody*, for they sang their songs ving stained their faces with wine-lees ; or the *g* is to be turned into and it means *trachody*, for the dirge is rougher and more mournful d difficult than laughter-making ; or it is equivalent to *tetragonody*, r the tragic dancers gave their performances standing in a square figure." he catholic imbecility of these efforts at explanation is enough to prove e genuine Hellenic spirit of the medieval Irish glossators.

Just thirty-four years ago the late Sir William Ridgeway published famous book[2] in which he gave the problem a new turn. Hitherto it id been universally believed, on the word of Aristotle, that in some ay Tragedy, having its origin in the Dithyramb, had arisen from rites honour of the god Dionysus. Ridgeway side-tracked the testimony Aristotle by denying that the Dithyramb had any essential connection ith Dionysus, and claimed to have proved that Tragedy originated the worship of the dead. He was followed by Nilsson,[3] who made ragedy into a special development of the dirge and went even further an Ridgeway in assuming that what Aristotle has to tell us is mere njecture. A year later Professor Gilbert Murray, in a chapter contri-ited to a work by Miss Jane Harrison,[4] reproduced an old theory in a ghly original form. For Dr. Murray " Tragedy is in origin a Ritual ance, a *Sacer Ludus*, representing normally the Aition, or supposed

[1] Text in Ziegler, art. *Tragoedia*, Pauly-Wissowa, vol. VI A, col. 1924.
[2] *The origin of Tragedy*. Cambridge University Press. 1910.
[3] *Neue Jahrbücher*, xxvii, 1911.
[4] *Themis*. Cambridge University Press, 1912.

historical Cause, of some current ritual practice . . . The dance in question is originally or centrally that of Dionysus . . . the spirit of the Dithyramb or Spring Drômenon, an 'Eniautos-Daimon,' who represents the cyclic death and rebirth of the world, including the rebirth of the tribe by the return of the heroes or dead ancestors."

Dr. Murray's terminology (it should be noted that the term " Eniautos-Daimon " is an invention of Miss Harrison's) and his attempt to interpret the institutions of classical Greece by reference to those of the Early Stone Age are as characteristic of modern learning as was the scholiast's etymology of medieval. He expands his account of Tragedy by assuming that it originally represented the birth and death of the Year-Spirit. Dr. Murray was followed in 1914 by Dr. A. B. Cook, who in one of the numerous excursuses to his monumental work on the Sky-god[1] tried to prove that Tragedy originally depicted the dismemberment of Dionysus-Zagreus[2] at the hands of the Titans, and that it belonged not to a spring-festival but to the Lenaea, celebrated in mid-winter. The legitimate representative in a younger generation of these theorists is Professor George Thomson, whose bulky recent work *Aeschylus and Athens*[3] not merely derives Tragedy from the most primitive " clan " ceremonies but explains its origin and development in the pure light of the Marxian dialectic—a light which to the less-instructed reader is apt to seem an *ignis fatuus*. Meanwhile the great weaknesses inherent in all such theories had been convincingly exposed by Dr. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in what is probably the most valuable book on the subject in any language.[4] Dr. Pickard-Cambridge's method is sensible ; he presents all the evidence fully and fairly, and his conclusions are sound, if perhaps over-cautious. Like most modern scholars, he appears to make rather too little of Aristotle, and he still fails to give us as full an account of the early history of Tragedy as it is possible to draw from our sources. His work has been supplemented by that of two German scholars, Kranz[5] and Ziegler,[6] the latter of whom in particular has given us a survey in all respects worthy to be set beside his. Thus it may be said that before the present war the study of this question had reached a positive stage beyond which certain cautious and tentative advances might be possible.

The first essential in any discussion of the problem is to be clear about what Aristotle does and does not mean. Bywater's translation

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[1] *Zeus*. Vol. I. Cambridge University Press. 1914.

[2] Zagreus was a Cretan divinity identified with Dionysus, and the myth of his dismemberment was late and esoteric.

[3] London : Lawrence and Wishart, 1941.

[4] *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1927.

[5] *Stasimon : Untersuchungen Zu Form und Gehalt der griechischen Tragödie*. Berlin : Weidmann. 1933.

[6] See note 1 above.

the famous passage from the Poetics[1] is here reproduced with one ange :—

It (Tragedy) certainly began with improvisations—as also did Comedy ; *the originating with the leaders of the Dithyramb*, the other with those of the phallic ngs, which still survive as institutions in many of our cities. And its advance er that was little by little, through their improving on what they had before them each stage. It was in fact only after a long series of changes that the movement Tragedy stopped on its attaining its natural form. The number of actors was st increased to two by Aeschylus, who curtailed the business of the Chorus, and de the dialogue, or spoken portion, take the leading part in the play. A third or and scenery were due to Sophocles. Tragedy acquired also its magnitude. scarding short stories and a ludicrous diction, *through its passing out of its satyric ge*, it assumed, though only at a late point in its progress, a tone of dignity ; and metre changed then from trochaic to iambic. *The reason for their original use the Trochaic Tetrameter was that their poetry was satyric and more connected with ncing than it now is.* As soon, however, as a spoken part came in, nature herself nd the appropriate metre. The iambic, as we know, is the most speakable of etres."

The italicised passages are those which give us the most valuable formation about origins. It will be seen that they tell us substantially three things : that Tragedy was the creation of the leaders a Dithyramb originally merely improvised, that it included some element hich Aristotle calls satyric, and that this element gave rise to the use the trochaic tetrameter, for which the iambic trimeter, the metre of alogue, was later substituted.

Now it is universally assumed that, in deriving Tragedy at one and e same time from the Dithyramb and from a satyric performance, ristotle is guilty of a blatant self-contradiction. In the fifth century e Dithyramb had nothing whatever to do with satyrs, and scholars sist on referring Aristotle's words to a Dithyramb of fifth-century pe. The phrase translated " through its passing out of its satyric age " is taken to mean that Aristotle is thinking of the fifth-century tyric drama, a very special type of play of which we possess only one mplete example and part of another,[2] and which was regularly produced the fourth play following on a suite of three tragedies. The essence the satyric drama is to be a burlesque, and its chorus always consists satyrs, wild half-animal, half-human creatures who were supposed to company Dionysus. There is an apparent advantage in supposing ragedy to be derived from this type of performance. One explanation the term " tragedy " is that it means " song sung by goat-men," and the fourth century and later the satyrs were regularly imagined as aving the horns and hooved feet of goats. The derivation, however,

[1] Chapter 4, § 1449 a, 9, f. The change is the substitution of the word " leaders " r the obviously wrong-headed translation " authors " in the first sentence.

[2] The *Cyclops* of Euripides is complete ; the *Trackers* of Sophocles, recovered in 1911 om a papyrus, is in a fragmentary condition. It appears to be the earlier of the two.

produces two immense difficulties. In the first place it is quite impossible to conceive how a chorus of satyrs can have been transformed into the chorus of Tragedy as we know it, which generally consists of women or rather of men dressed as women. In the second place it has been conclusively proved that in the sixth and fifth centuries the satyrs were represented, not as half-goats, but as having the ears and tails of horses.[1] This makes it at least highly improbable that Tragedy was so called because of an original satyric chorus, and another explanation must be found for the name.

We are thus driven back on the conclusion that the "satyric stage" of primitive Tragedy, of which Aristotle speaks, had nothing directly to do with the later satyric drama. At this point even scrupulous scholars like Dr. Pickard-Cambridge are inclined to reject Aristotle's authority altogether and to assume that he was only theorising. Before we do this, however, it is our duty to examine with more care what he says about the Dithyramb. In the fifth century this was a long and elaborate performance by a chorus of fifty men, consisting of a song sung to the accompaniment of a dance. Originally concerned with the worship of Dionysus, and in particular with a narrative or mimetic representation of his miraculous nativity,[2] it had long lost its Dionysiac content, much as Tragedy had—though, like Tragedy again, it was occasionally[3] devoted to its traditional subject. We have a good deal of evidence to show that it was transformed in the later part of the sixth century, about the time when Tragedy was developing,[4] and to make it probable enough that the classical Dithyramb and classical Tragedy were in fact different developments of the one primitive Dionysiac performance. Both may well go back to an intermediate common origin in the first literary Dithyramb as composed by Arion of Lesbos at Corinth in the beginning of the sixth century.

When Aristotle tells us that Tragedy began with improvisations, it is most reasonable to interpret him, not at all as referring to Thespis and his contemporaries, but to the primitive, pre-Arionic Dithyramb. We have one famous text, dating from at least half a century before Arion, in which we find mention of this primitive Dithyramb in its improvised

[1] The evidence is fully set forth in Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, p. 149 f. It does not, however, rule out the probability that the goatskin was a regular part of the satyric costume. Cp. Ziegler, *op. cit.* cols. 1920–22. It should be noted that men called "horses" were often members of Dionysiac fraternities. (Kern in Pauly-Wissowa, xvi, col. 1926.)

[2] Plato, *Laws* iii, p. 700 b. Pickard-Cambridge (*o.c.* p. 7-8) is not justified in denying that this gives us the "proper subject" of the Dithyramb—at any rate if he means the *original* subject.

[3] Compare the Pindaric fragment, quoted by Pickard-Cambridge, *o.c.*, p. 33, with the play like the *Bacchae*.

[4] Cp. Pickard-Cambridge, *o.c.*, p. 23 f, on Lasos of Hermione, a contemporary at Athens of Thespis. It seems at any rate certain that the number of the chorus was increased to fifty at this period.

orm. This text is a fragment of the Parian poet Archilochus (c. 650 .C.) and consists of two lines written, significantly enough, in the trochaic etrameter which Aristotle indicates was inherited by early Tragedy rom its " satyric " original. They run as follows : " I know how to ead the fair song of the Lord Dionysus, the Dithyramb, when my ind is thunder-struck with wine." The word translated " to lead " s closely cognate with the word translated " leaders " in our quotation rom Aristotle's *Poetics*. Archilochus is plainly speaking of a Dionysiac erformance in which the leader improvised a song in the god's honour hile inspired by the god's own beverage. This tradition has its ignificant later counterpart in the story that Aeschylus wrote his plays nder the influence of wine.[1] We are entitled to deduce from the fragment ust quoted that before Arion there existed a Dionysiac performance onsisting partly of a choral song, perhaps improvised for the occasion, nd partly of some sort of recitative in trochaic tetrameters ; for that he fragment belongs to such a performance there is little if any reason o doubt. To this performance Arion would seem to have given regular iterary status by previously composing words to go with the dance which nust have been its essential feature.

On Arion and his work we have, apart from the testimony of Herodotus[2] who lived a century and a half after his time, a valuable brief otice in a lexicon of miscellaneous information composed by a writer nown as Soudas in the tenth century A.D. This notice runs as follows : ' He (Arion) is said to have been the inventor of the tragic mode and to ave been the first to make the chorus stationary and to have sung a Dithyramb and given a name to what was sung by the chorus, and to ave brought on satyrs reciting something composed in metre." Dr. Pickard-Cambridge, in criticising this passage,[3] supposes it merely to ontain " a badly-expressed inference from Aristotle " and asks : " If he ' tragic mode ' and the employment of satyrs are one and the same hing, why are they separated by remarks about the Dithyramb ?" If Soudas is merely drawing on Aristotle, he seems to draw quite a surprising mount ; and the answer to the question put by Dr. Pickard-Cambridge s surely that the tragic mode and the satyrs are not separated by the eference to the Dithyramb, but joined. We have here, in fact and in erms clearly not derived from any extant work of Aristotle, an ascription o Arion of just the kind of Dithyramb, including some satyric element, hat is postulated by the passage from the *Poetics*. That Arion was egarded as the forerunner of Tragedy is also implied in another medieval

[1] The story is quoted by Athenaeus from Chamaeleon, a pupil of Aristotle. It was ot a " slander " as Professor Stanford (*Aeschylus in his Style*, p. 14) says, but a compliment. he same was said of the great comic poet, Cratinus.

[2] Herod. i, 23.

[3] *o.c.*, p. 133.

notice,[1] brought to light by Rabe in 1908. Its author is a certain John the Deacon, and his words are : " It was Arion of Methymna who brought on the first drama of Tragedy, as Solon says in the *Elegies* attributed to him."

The attempt to break up the account given by Soudas into two disparate fragments arises presumably from the almost inevitable tendency of scholars to suppose that when Aristotle speaks of a " satyric stage " of Tragedy, he must mean a stage in which the chorus consisted entirely of satyrs. His words, however, are sufficiently intelligible if we take them as meaning that the satyrs were an addition to the ordinary chorus ; and in fully developed Tragedy this, as has been pointed out above, regularly represented women.[2] Now Professor Thomson[3] has convincingly shown that, with the exception of the priest at their head, the Dionysiac *thiasoi*, or groups of worshippers, were practically always women. This was the case right down to Roman Imperial times ; the prominence of women in the famous " Bacchanalian conspiracy " of 186 B.C. described by Livy[4] was one of its most striking features. The leader, or *exarchon*, would normally be an old man, though this seems to be merely a kind of ritual title, and young men (*neaniskoi*) are commonly represented as undergoing initiation. But the chief worshippers of Dionysus, from Homer down, are his " nurses," the *Lenai, Thyiades, Mainades, Bacchae*, of whom we hear so much. We have records from all over Greece of such female cult-groups,[5] and one precious document[6] gives us five lines of what is clearly a very primitive hymn sung by the women of Elis when invoking an epiphany of the god. The number of women enrolled in such Dionysiac groups is also significant : at Elis it was sixteen, at Athens, in connection with the spring Dionysiac festival, the Anthesteria, fourteen.[7] These numbers are sufficiently close to that of the chorus of Tragedy to warrant the conclusion that it originally represented just such a Dionysiac thiasos as we find recorded so abundantly.

In the primitive improvised Dithyramb the business of the *thiasos*-chorus would be primarily, as the name *chorus* indicates, to perform a ritual dance. Along with the dance would go certain hymns at fixed points in the rite, of which the Elean one is an example. Aristotle and

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[1] See Pickard-Cambridge, *o.c.* p. 132, for text.

[2] Of our thirty-two extant tragedies, twenty-two have choruses representing women, eight representing old men, and only two (Sophocles' *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*) men in the prime of life : in both cases sailors.

[3] *o.c.* p. 149.

[4] Livy, XXXIX, 13.

[5] The evidence will be found most conveniently collected in Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. V.

[6] Plutarch. *Quaest. Graec.* 36. It is to be noted that the title *Hērōs*, which editors had repudiated (cp. Dr. Cook's emendation in Pickard-Cambridge, *o.c.* p. 13), has now been confirmed by an inscription from Torre Nova in Latium. (Cumont, *American Journ. Archaeol.* 1933, p. 215-263.)

[7] Farnell, *o.c.* p. 320.

ır other evidence agree in indicating that, in addition to the chorus women, there was some part assigned to a group of satyrs, who may ıve partly joined in the song and partly contributed something peculiar themselves : a recitative in trochaic tetrameters. That the satyrs both ined in an *agon*, or debate, with the chorus and also in the dirge which ust have been an essential part of the rite from the beginning, is a very asonable hypothesis ;[1] it also meets in the most convincing way the gument which forms the starting point of Kranz's work, that Tragedy ose from an *agon* between two halves of a divided satyric chorus. We nnot of course hope to know in detail either how the parts of the primitive thyramb were distributed as between chorus and satyrs, or what exactly as the contribution made by Arion, beyond the fact that he gave regular erary form, with the capacity for variation inherent therein, to what as before him either traditional or improvised. If we adopt to this tent Dr. Murray's description, we shall not be far wrong : " Tragedy in origin a ritual dance, a *Sacer Ludus*, representing normally the Aition, supposed historical Cause, of some current ritual practice." We ay agree with Dr. Pickard-Cambridge that Arion's Dithyramb was ill in all probability non-dramatic; but we must carefully distinguish etween *dramatic* and *mimetic*. The former implies speech, dialogue, tion represented by debate ; the latter merely representation of an ent by way of imitative dance or tableau. The history of Tragedy s a whole is that of the gradual triumph of the dramatic over the mimetic, f the actors over the chorus, of the *skēnē* over the orchestra.

What was the content of the *Sacer Ludus* thus first given literary rm ? Scholars have almost universally sought it in a kind of Passion lay depicting the sufferings and death of Dionysus, unnecessarily isguised by Dr. Murray as the Year-Spirit. The objections to this rocedure have been fully set forth by Dr. Pickard-Cambridge and are verwhelmingly strong ; the most serious of them is that the story of ıe passion and death of Dionysus is both late and confined to a com-aratively small circle of peculiar worshippers. In his classic manifesta-ons, the god is anything but a dying and suffering god ; he is always ıanifesting himself suddenly, miraculously, with devastating force, and is not he but his opponents who suffer, are stricken with madness, nd die. There is no room here to discuss the origin of this extraordinary ılt, so characteristically Hellenic, which Euripides,[2] in words probably xpressive of his own feelings, describes as "a great disgrace to the Greeks ". was at any rate known to Homer in its most typical form : the story f how man-slaying Lycurgus pursued the nurses of mad Dionysus and

[1] On the importance of the dirge or *Kommos*, the best work is Peretti, *Epirrema e ragedia*, Florence, 1939. Wilamowitz (*Griech. Verskunst*, 1921), had already suggested ıat the dialogue had its starting-point in the antiphonal dirge.

[2] *Bacchae*, l. 779.

was blinded for his sin, " because he was hated by all the immortal gods," is told in the sixth book of the *Iliad* in a context full of very ancient material.[1] This story was chosen by Aeschylus as the subject of one of his most famous trilogies, the *Lycurgeia*.[2] A still better-known story was that of how King Pentheus of Thebes resisted the worship of the god, who was his mother's sister's son, and was punished by being torn to pieces at the hands of his mother and her Maenads. On this story Euripides based his last and one of his finest plays, the *Bacchae*. He was merely following in the footsteps of Aeschylus, who had devoted a whole trilogy called *Pentheus* to the same subject.

These were by no means the only myths which told of the awful consequences that followed on resistance to the god, on neglect of his worship, or sometimes even on his mere appearance among a community. All over Greece such stories were told, and they seem generally to have been intended to explain some ritual practice. The best-known of them are the stories of the daughters of Minyas, the daughters of Proetus, the daughters of Eleuther, the women of Phthiotis, and the women of Elis. In most cases the victims of the god's onset are women, but the women are generally led or accompanied by Old Men and often pursued or attacked by a King and his soldiers. Certain motifs recur in practically all the stories. One such is the pursuit-motif just mentioned; another is the motif of the heroine who hangs herself in madness or grief. But the idea that underlies most of them is that of resistance to the god, and this is generally incarnate in some one person. Madness, murder, suicide, torture are all accompaniments of the event which follows on the god's epiphany. In many of the stories a festival is instituted at the end by way of purification. That these myths were connected as explanatory narratives with some form of Bacchic ritual is made clear by the account of the secret orgies at Rome in Livy's narrative of the Bacchanalian conspiracy. There we are told that " men were said to be snatched up by the gods and thrown, bound to a machine, out of sight into hidden caves: these were they who were unwilling to join in the conspiracy or share in or be the victims of their crimes." The resemblance with Lycurgus, who as Sophocles tells us,[4] was " shut up in a rocky prison" because of his hostility to the god, is obvious. So to a less degree is that with

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[1] *Iliad* vi, ll. 130-140. Leaf thinks the passage an interpolation, partly because the cult of Dionysus is supposed by him to be late. It is followed by the obviously ancient story of Bellerophon.

[2] It was Aeschylus who first made Lycurgus a Thracian. There is of course no mention of Thrace in the Homeric story. Aeschylus probably had a reason in the defeat of the Athenians by the Edonians of Thrace in 465, a year or two before his play.

[3] An example of the last kind is the story of Icarius and Erigone, on which Sophocles may have based a tragedy. It is important as showing that these myths have no real historical substance, as is often supposed. The myths will be found collected in Farnell, *o.c.*

[4] Sophocles, *Antigone*, ll. 955–8.

entheus, who in the *Bacchae* is tied to a tree miraculously bent down or the purpose before he is torn to pieces. We remember also that ne *machina* was a regular piece of stage property in the Dionysiac theatre.

The ordinary explanation of these stories is that they reflect a historical esistance to the introduction of the cult of Dionysus from Thrace. This xplanation is, however, very improbable; it is much more likely that the lea of opposition, struggle, and catastrophe was an ancient component f the god's ritual, which represented him as taking violent possession f men's souls and bodies, sweeping them out of themselves, and driving nem to act like madmen. Our words *enthusiasm* and *ecstasy* are, as well known, both derived from these Dionysiac phenomena of possession nd abandonment. The cult was inevitably subjected at all times to ne closest regulation by the State, in Greece as well as in Roman Italy. Originally it was the ritual which accompanied the coming in or return f Dionysus with the return of the spring. We know of actual cases here it was called *Katagogia*, or "bringing home," a name cognate ith the verb used in the *Bacchae* by the god's attendants to describe neir dance and song.[1] There is every likelihood that such a ritual was ne content of the primitive Dithyramb from which Tragedy sprang. The mimetic representation of a story like that of Pentheus or Lycurgus ould contain in germ at least all the characteristic components of Tragedy oted by Aristotle in the *Poetics* : his *Pathos* or catastrophe, his *Recognition*, n which the true relation between the god and his opponents is made nanifest, and his *Reversal*, in which the persecutor is turned into the ictim, while his *Katharsis*, or purification, would be the original purpose f the whole ritual, achieved by the imitative re-enactment of the fearful vent. Finally the dirge, or *Kommos*, which is so important a part of ll Tragedy, would represent the mourning of the community for the ead hero who had resisted the god and paid the penalty with his life. n writing plays like the *Bacchae* or the *Lycurgeia*, the tragic poets merely eturned to the original theme of all Tragedy, while of course always iving the old story a new and very special meaning.

We have seen that the name *Tragedy* is not likely to have been derived rom a chorus of goat-men. Another favourite ancient explanation, that meant "song sung in a competition for the prize of a goat," is rendered ery improbable by the consideration that such competitions must have een introduced at a comparatively late stage, and that the primitive erformance was simply a ritual containing traditional hymns and nprovised recitative. By far the best explanation is that given very ncidentally by Euripides in his *Bacchae*,[2] where he makes his chorus of

[1] *Bacchae*, l. 85 : *Dionyson Katagousai*. Compare the Katagogia at Priene and elsehere, Farnell, *o.c.* p. 193.

[2] *Bacchae*, l. 139. The reference is so incidental that, so far as I am aware, no scholar as hitherto noted its bearing on the name *Tragedy*.

Maenads sing of the joy they feel in their chase " for the blood of the slain goat, the gift of the *omophagia*." It is well known that the eating of the raw flesh of the animal sacrificed to the god was a constant part of the Bacchic ritual. Here we have a clear indication that this rite was in some way originally associated with the performance which gave rise to Tragedy, which will thus mean " song at the goat-sacrifice." The animal usually mentioned as sacrificed in connection with the Dithyramb was the bull, but both were in a certain sense, like the vine and the ivy, manifestations of the god ; and in the story of the daughters of Eleuther, which had its origin at Eleutherae on the Attic-Boeotian border, from whence was derived the cult of Dionysus celebrated in the Athenian theatre, he appeared clad in a black goatskin, with the usual fearsome consequences.[1] It is of course true that the victim of the god was in some sense his doublet, and this applies equally to the sacrificed animal and to the slain hero-opponent like Lycurgus or Pentheus, or indeed to the Maenads who are called *Bacchae*. In some sense also the rite was a Mystery, as is clear especially from the scene in the *Bacchae* of Euripides where the god speaks to his worshippers and they address him as the Light that has shone on them in their loneliness. But it is essential to grasp the fact that the victim who became the ancestor of the tragic Hero was not at any stage the god, but his opponent : the *Theomachos*, that enemy of the divinity whose lineaments we can trace in so many heroes from Prometheus through Ajax to Oedipus.

We cannot of course reconstitute in any detail the content of the primitive Dithyramb or " tragic " chorus, as Herodotus called it. To attempt even to do so is a mistake in view of our total lack of evidence. All we can say is that it most probably contained equivalents, at least in its Arionic or first literary form, of the later Parodos, Discovery, Pathos, Dirge, and Exodos. It will be seen how easily such a mimetic performance, describing as it did the struggle of a Hero with a God, could be made to lose its Dionysiac character and be given a content derived from some non-Dionysiac story of a rather similar kind. This was exactly what happened in the generation after Arion, when the Dorian hero Adrastus of Sicyon was honoured with " tragic choruses " by the nobility of his native city.[2] About the middle of the sixth century the tyrant Cleisthenes, leader of an anti-Dorian popular movement, took away the choruses from Adrastus and gave them back to Dionysus. The importance of this event lies in the fact that it shows how the later Athenian development

[1] Text from Soudas in Farnell, *o.c.* p. 299. The daughters of Eleuther " found fault with " the apparition of the god so dressed, were driven mad as a result, and in order to cure their madness a cult of Dionysus of the Black Goatskin was instituted. This must have been identical with the cult of Dionysus Eleuthereus in the theatre at Athens.

[2] The story is told by Herodotus, v, ch. 67. It formed the starting-point for Ridgeway's theory, but in order to do so it had to be misinterpreted as grievously as it has recently been by Dr. Murray (*Aeschylus*, 1940, p. 6, n.1.) who explains the "sufferings " of Adrastus as those of Dionysus.

f Tragedy had been anticipated a generation before Thespis. Soudas ells us in his article on Thespis that according to some he was the second riter of Tragedy after Epigenes of Sicyon, and that his predecessor's ork was the origin of the proverb " nothing to do with Dionysus".

The great innovation of Thespis (who is not mentioned by Aristotle n his *Poetics*) seems to have been to make the tragic chorus dramatic by nventing the actor. We have two traditions about Thespis, one from Diogenes of Laetre,[1] who belonged to the second century A.D., ne other from a very celebrated teacher and publicist of the fourth century A.D., Themistius.[2] It is highly probable that both drew upon some ost work of Aristotle.[3] Diogenes tells us that Thespis introduced the rst actor ; Themistius says that he " invented " the Prologue and the *Rhesis*, or actor's speech. In all probability it was he also who expelled he satyrs from Tragedy, while keeping their *exarchon*, or leader, in the ew capacity of " answerer " or actor, who took on their function of oining in dialogue with the chorus. Soudas gives us the names of four ragedies attributed to Thespis ; if genuine, they indicate that he still vrote some of his plays on Dionysiac subjects, one of them being called *The Young Men*, another the *Pentheus*. At the same time it is quite robable that his plots were in some cases at least non-Dionysiac. This vas what produced, about the end of the century, the reaction of Pratinas,[4] vho created the satyric drama in its later form. The next great name fter Thespis is that of Phrynichus, who according to Soudas was the first o introduce female characters and thus may deserve the credit of having nade possible the tragic Heroine. Aeschylus brought Tragedy to its naturity by his introduction of the second actor, a step which obviously gave much greater scope for dramatic development. He also emphasised he heroic content of Tragedy by his bold adaptations for the scene of Homeric subjects and, as Aristotle tells us, " curtailed the business of the chorus," thus beginning a process which was to end in its practical elimina- ion. The " long series of changes " undergone by Tragedy before it attained its natural form " may perhaps be dimly grasped if we envisage such a development as is here outlined ; so too may the features of the mimetic Dithyramb be glimpsed here and there behind the heroic mask of its majestic descendant.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

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[1] Diogenes Laertius, iii, 56.

[2] Themistius, Oration 26, p. 316 d. Both texts in Pickard-Cambridge, *o.c.* pp. 99-100. Themistius was a Neoplatonist and an Aristotelian scholar.

[3] Plutarch's story of the condemnation of Thespis by Solon (Life of Solon, ch. xxix) I regard as a Platonic invention, intended to justify Plato's attack on Tragedy as against Aristotle's defence.

[4] The extant fragment of Pratinas is very interesting as giving an indication that his drama had two choruses, one of which, composed of satyrs, pursued the other. (Schmid, *Griech. Lit.-Gesch.* II, p. 179).

PETER O'CONNELL: SCHOLAR AND SCRIBE 1755—1826

BY DERMOT F. GLEESON, M.A. D.LITT.

THE recent issue of the last (No. XXVII) of the Fasciculi of the Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy is a landmark in the history of Irish letters. Taking this excellent series, with the already existing two-volume Catalogue of the Irish manuscripts in the British Museum and the Abbot—Gwynn guide to the Irish manuscripts in Trinity College, there is now accessible to students, in a convenient form, a guide and introduction to the study of Gaelic letters in their three main repositories. These may be supplemented by the examination of what is available in the National Library of Ireland, the Bodleian at Oxford, Maynooth College Library, and in one or two other places where smaller collections exist. The nature and extent of this great corpus of original and scribal matter in the native tongue, and indeed its very existence, must be accounted as one of the greater phenomena of Irish history. This is all the more apparent when one considers that a large part of it was written in the wilder and more remote parts of the country in the worst periods of the penal times, when education was proscribed for the greater portion of the people, while the native tongue and all that it enshrined was consistently treated by legislature and executive as the vehicle of ignorance and treason. The Gaelic manuscripts of these later times have long been the delight of scholars both at home and abroad, but it is to be feared that little is known of them or of their authors by the general body of the people. Daniel Corkery's great book *The Hidden Ireland* was almost the first to break ground in this direction with regard especially to the 'poor scholars' of the eighteenth century. Only the greater names have become generally known and in many cases biographical details are of the scantiest. The bridge between Micheál Ó Clérigh of the seventeenth century and O'Donovan and O'Curry of the nineteenth is straight and solid, but as yet we have had no clear picture of it. It is not too much to say that one of the corner-stones of the arch was Peter O'Connell.

O'Connell was born in the year 1755 at Carne in the parish of Killimer, about five miles east of the town of Kilrush in Corcu Baiscinn and on the shore of the Shannon estuary. The time and the place has each its own significance. The work of the Clare group of Irish scholars in their native tongue, in this 18th century and well into the 19th is well known. It may be fairly claimed to equal or surpass, in the results it has left us, that of any other area in the entire country. Commencing a cycle immediately after the siege of Limerick in 1690, with Aodh Buidhe MacCruitin of Kilmacreehy, Liscannor, and his equally famous cousin Andrias of Moyglass, Kilmurry Ui Bhrican, it continues without a break right up to the

ties of the nineteenth century, when we find William Smith O'Brien, er his return from exile, copying manuscripts in Irish in the same area. venty-five of the twenty-seven fasciculi of the Academy manuscripts ıtain matter composed or transcribed in Clare over that period of almost o centuries ; there is much more in the other collections and even still me more original material carefully prized in the homes of northern d western Clare. The roll of scholars is a noble one—containing, as it es, such additional names as Merryman, Donnchadh Ruadh, Sean uighid, Micheál Coimin, Seumas MacConnsaidin, Tomás Ó Míodhcháin d Sean de Hóra, besides many more. Two areas in Clare are pre-ninently notable—the parish of Kilmurry Ui Bhrican and the area ımediately to the north of it to Liscannor, and Doonaha about ten miles ɛst of O'Connell's birthplace, where a whole group of scholars worked ound the native place of Eoin Ó Comhraidhe (Eugene O'Curry) and s father Eoin Mor. Thus Peter O'Connell was born at a time when the adition of the scholarship of more ancient days in Clare had been solidly -established and at a place which brought him immediately into contact ith its contemporary exemplars.

Such biographical details as we have in writing of O'Connell's life ıve been left to us in the main by Eóin Ó Comraidhe and by Hardiman—oth his contemporaries but much younger men. The former tells us that ɛ was born at Carne. This is substantiated by local tradition in his ɛgard, carefully gathered together over a period of forty years by his ıccessor as teacher in the parish, Mr. Michael Twomey, Principal of urrane School. The old people still living in the parish keep his ıemory green from tales of him related by their grandparents ho attended O'Connell's school at Moyne. The ruins of the ouse where he spent his last years with his brother's family re still pointed out. A suggestion sometimes made, that he as born at Tullabrack in the Parish of Kilmacduane, may be dis-ıissed as without evidence to warrant it. The name ' Carne ' is not now ɔ be found on the Ordnance Survey map in that form, but it is still used ɔcally. The original Irish form was either ' Ceathru Doite ' or ' Carn Doite ', now shown on the map as " Carrowdotia " ; Ó Comraidhe's use f the form ' Carne ' is in consonance with ancient and modern local sage. O'Connell is not a Clare patronymic ; and it is possible that some ncestor of Peter came across the river from Kerry; the absence of parochial r other records going behind Emancipation makes it impossible to trace is antecedents. Tradition does not mention his father, but records that is mother had a small farm of a few acres and that Peter, at an early age, ıanifested a greater love for books than for the land. Where he got his arly schooling we do not know, but it must have been in one of the local edge schools or even perhaps in Doonaha, where a succession of great ıasters taught their poor scholars in this very period.

It is difficult in this twentieth century to visualise the conditions under which O'Connell and his fellows grew up and had their schooling, but any less propitious to scholarship it is hard to imagine. The great mass of the people in western Clare in these times lived in the most abject poverty. Life was supported almost entirely on the potato crop and on milk. Famine was recurrent, while the deadly cholera and typhus were endemic. Twenty years after O'Connell's death, the great famine of 1846/8 swept away over a third of the population of the Poor Law Union of Kilrush. The very churches were miserable thatched buildings with mud walls. Priests were scarce, so that modern parishes were then amalgamated in large unions in which one or two poor priests, travelling from Monday to Saturday on horseback, strove to minister to the spiritual needs of a population more than twice that of our time. The eighteenth century 'poor Friar' was well known in the area and helped the secular priests in such places as Kilmihil, Kilkee, and Doonaha. At the last place in 1816, lived "An Brathair Mór"—Father David O'Mahony, who in that year and in O'Connell's lifetime compiled his anthology of contemporary Clare poetry, which is one of the more remarkable manuscripts in Irish in the British Museum collection (Add. 31,874). The hedge schools of Clare must have been amongst the poorest in Ireland—as poor in temporal affairs as they were rich in scholarship. The tradition of the 'great Master' survived hereabouts down even to our own time, for there are still living men who attended the humble but renowned academy of Connor MacDermott (who died in Kilmacduane in 1894) and thereafter lived to thank their preceptor for the high positions they were enabled to win in many parts of the world.

The group of Clare scholars who came from these schools in the eighteenth century were well known to each other. They were fortunate also in having 'patrons' such as O Clerigh had in Fergal O'Gara. The MacDonnell family of Kilkee (who came originally from the Isles of Scotland), the Macmahons of Cloneena, and the two Fathers MacGuane of Kilmurry Ui Bhrican (the 'two holy brothers' as they are called in one manuscript) are all mentioned in these and later times in dedicatory poems. Many of the scholars travelled from place to place and across to Limerick and Kerry and took manuscript copies of one another's books and manuscripts, and so it may be exemplified in them that "wherever you have a log of wood with a master at one end and a pupil at the other, there you have a University." It was in such a University that O'Connell grew up and was educated. We know from Eoin O Comraidhe that he was a friend and visitor at Doonaha, and we may suspect that Eoin's father had much to do with his predilection for scholarship. Books must have been a sore problem to him and to his fellows. They were prizes beyond measure. Indeed it is clear that a great part of the equipment of a scholar like O'Connell had to be copied laboriously by himself from the manuscripts of

is fellows. This is abundantly manifest from the number of transcripts f such a well-known tract as Magrath's Cathréim of the fifteenth century, ıade by different Clare hands and now in the collections. Copies were ıade also of the works of Keatinge, the MacCruitins, and others—all ı the best Ó Clérigh tradition. Some of these are still to be found in the ɔmes of western Clare.

A livelihood had to be made however, and so O'Connell took up the rofession of teacher followed by so many of his friends. From the very rst, however, he seems to have been attracted by the study of his native nguage and to have formed at an early date the determination to compile Dictionary. In this he was not a pioneer but rather again following a adition. Lloyd and Shaw had toiled in this field before him, and Ó Comıidhe tells us that he made use of their work. Aodh Buidhe MacCruitin, is fellow Clareman, had published an Irish Grammar in Louvain in 1728 ıd had collaborated with Connor Begley in an English-Irish Dictionary, rinted at Paris in 1732. The work to which O'Connell set his hand and evoted the last forty years of his life, would seem to us now to have been task so difficult as to be quite impossible to a poor man living in a remote ea of the west. In those times however it is well to remember that, the saying goes, 'the day was long'. Time indeed must have almost ood still. The county town of Ennis was a day's journey from Carne; imerick was as far away again; while a journey to Dublin was the event a lifetime. It must soon have been apparent to Peter O'Connell that, he were to accomplish the great work to which he had set his hand, must travel far from Carne. Possibly encouraged and perhaps financially sisted by the MacDonnells, he set out on his 'turas'. Both Hardiman ıd Ó Comraidhe tell us that he journeyed far from his native place—ırough Scotland, the Hebrides, the Orkneys, and through Wales—in arch of material for his Dictionary and to study the comparative forms Celtic speech. If he had left to us some diary or account of this, it ould have been an epic. If it were done to-day by a post-graduate udent with the aid of a travelling studentship, it would probably excite me comment. That it should have been done over a century and a half o, by a poor schoolmaster without influence or money, may suffice to ve us the true measure of the stature of O'Connell as a scholar and a an. He must have earned his journey money as he went, either as a ribe or at his profession, or have depended on the hospitality of his llows. When he returned, we know that he spent some time working the Dublin manuscript collections. His autograph is to be found in any manuscripts. Thus in the colophon of No. 979 of Fasciculus XXII . I. Academy it is set out that it was written by him "a Colaiste na Trinoide imh re seandun Duibhlinne an dara la fiched do April, aois Chriosta 791." Hardiman tells us also that he spent a long time "with old Charles 'Connor of Belnagare," and no doubt he was employed by him for a

time transcribing and annotating manuscript material—now to be seen in his ' excellent hand,' to quote Standish O'Grady, in the various collections.

How long he worked in this way or how far he travelled, we do not know. Such meagre details as we have we owe to Ó Comraidhe and Hardiman—the former adding them to his Catalogue of the Irish MSS. in the British Museum in 1849, more than twenty years after Ó Connell's death. The Dictionary, however, remained always his main pre-occupation. Then, in 1812 according to Ó Comraidhe, he got in touch with a Limerick scholar, Dr. O'Reardon, and went to live in his house at Limerick. Here at the time was living Eoin Ó Comraidhe's little-known brother Malachy —himself a scribe and a poet of note, as his work which remains to us bears testimony. O'Connell must have opened a school at Limerick, for Eoin tells us that Malachy was ' his friend and pupil.' The work on the Dictionary went on at Limerick for a period of seven years—all spent with Dr. O'Reardon. Malachy Ó Comraidhe helped his master, for Eoin tells us of the Dictionary: " Almost all the Irish words and passages written in the Irish character were written by my brother."

In 1819, when the Dictionary was ready for the press, Peter O'Connell had a disagreement with Dr. O'Reardon. Eoin Ó Comraidhe says that it concerned the publication, but gives no further clue to its nature. At all events Peter O'Connell—then sixty-four years old—left Limerick in that year and returned to his native place at Carne. Tradition preserves the interesting fact that he arrived at Carne carrying a box of books on his back. This Ó Comraidhe confirms, saying: " He took all his manuscripts with him." Peter O'Connell never married, but his brother Patrick was living at Carne with his wife and family, and here Peter spent the last seven years of his life. He opened a school at Moyne near by and taught there to the end. He was not long home in Carne when, in the month of September of 1819, the body of a young woman was washed up at the shore at Carne—or Carrowdotia as it is now known. It was identified as that of the unfortunate Ellen or Eily Hanly, more popularly known as the Colleen Ban, whose murder on the night of the preceding July 13th had created a sensation throughout Limerick and Clare. She had no friends or relatives on the Clare side of the river and, when the inquest concluded, the authorities were in doubt as to where to bury her. The old scholar Peter O'Connell came forward and had the poor girl interred in his own grave in Burrane cemetery near his home. Later on, a Celtic Cross was erected over the grave by a local lady bearing the inscription: " Here lies the Colleen Bawn, Murdered on the Shannon, July 14th 1819." Souvenir hunters have chipped pieces from this memorial so that it has entirely vanished. Seven years later Peter O'Connell himself died and was laid to rest beside her. Over his grave still stands a simple stone inscribed: " This tombstone was erected by Anthony O'Connell in memory of his Unchel (*sic*) Peter

Connell, who was a Professor of Languages and Teacher of Philosophy. e lived respected and died regretted by his numerous friends and family . the 24th day of February, 1826. Aged 71 years. May he rest in Peace. nen." Ó Comraidhe writes of him in his last years, though in error to his age: " I was myself well acquainted with O'Connell and contri- ıted a good many local words and phrases to his work. He was almost feet 2 inches in height, straight, venerable, and dignified in his old age, ıich reached to over 80 years. He was a welcome guest at my father's ıuse at Doonaha, about ten miles lower down the Shannon than Carne." When the news of O'Connell's death reached Dublin and Limerick, ere was a stir amongst his fellow-workers as to the fate of his manuscript ictionary. His nephew Anthony, who apparently had little of his uncle's ırning, set out across the Shannon with the precious folios, to show em to the great Counsellor Daniel O'Connell at the Tralee Assizes. we are to believe Eoin Ó Comraidhe, who must have had the tale at st hand, Daniel O'Connell " dismissed Anthony, telling him that his cle was an old fool to have wasted his time on such work." The dis- pointed Anthony promptly pledged the manuscript of his uncle's life ork in a Tralee pawnshop for ten shillings. Ó Comraidhe heard the ory on his arrival at Carne, where all he could get was the pawn ticket. I sent it," he tells us, " to Tralee by the Guard of the Mail Coach and t the manuscript." Meanwhile however Hardiman, who knew the value the work, had set out from Dublin for Kilrush and purchased it from ıthony O'Connell. He came up to Limerick and demanded it from Comraidhe. " I refused," writes Ó Comraidhe, " without an under- ıing that it would stay in Ireland. He said he would give it to Maynooth ollege, but later sold it with others to the British Museum ". There it w rests (Egerton 83). Standish Hayes O'Grady editor of Vol. I. of the talogue of the Irish MSS. in the Museum, estimates this work of his low Clareman as follows: " It contains 330 folios. The autograph ıgh draft is almost entirely in the English letter, the work being one at stamps its author as a most remarkable man." Hardiman wrote his n tribute on the first folio: " The compiler was the best Irish scholar latter times. He was 40 years occupied on this Dictionary to which he is continually adding to his death, which happened near Kilrush about e year 1826, when he had it complete for publication. It is the most pious (Irish) Dictionary ever compiled and is particularly valuable for plaining the ancient Irish and manuscripts of Ireland." It will be noted at the bulk of the work is in the English letter, so that Malachy Ó Com- dhe's contribution cannot have been of an extensive nature. The ınuscript has never been printed, but manuscript copies of it were ten and it has formed the basis and one of the greater sources for all osequent scholars in this field. The late Dr. Dinneen, for instance, makes tensive use of it, acknowledging each time with the initials (' P. O'C ').

It must not be supposed, however, that this great and scholarly manuscript is the only work by which O'Connell has placed later scholars in his debt. Like all his fellows, he copied extensively from the older manuscripts available to him—and not only copied but, in the traditional way, added glossaries and notes of an extensive character. Instances may be found in the Catalogues of all the three main repositories. To indicate the wide range of his work, there may be instanced the genealogical manuscripts 23,H,22 and 23.F.11. (RIA) ; the O'Gorman papers 24.D.2. (RIA) and others ; a glossary to Cathréim Thoirdhealbhaigh, 23.G.18 (RIA) ; a Life of Christ, 23.C.29 (RIA) ; Poetry, 23.C.26. (RIA), 23.L.35. (RIA), and 23.L.13. (RIA) ; a transcript of Sanas Cormaic Add.28,257 (B.Mus.) and his own Glossary Add.28.258 (B.Mus.). Beides this, he is remembered in his native place as a teacher of Latin and Greek, to which no doubt the description " Professor of Languages " on his tombstone may be ascribed.

It is now one hundred and twenty-six years since Peter O'Connell's death. His name has been almost forgotten by his countrymen except by our leading Irish scholars. The lettering on his simple tombstone has been partially obliterated by the passage of time, though in this respect he is more fortunate than his predecessors the MacCruitins and Coimins who lie in unmarked graves to the shame of us all. His work for Irish letters will nevertheless endure ; for all who are acquainted with it are assured that this poor " Professor of Languages and Teacher of Philosophy " has left us a name which is one of the great ornaments of Gaelic literature and lexicography. His life's work was spent, like that of Irish scholars in all the ages, in the true service of the language and learning of his native land. He neither sought nor gained from it any other reward. There was no money in anything he did, and he came to his death leaving it seemingly unaccomplished and as poor a man as he was born. Now, after a century and a quarter, we may fittingly rank him with his predecessors back to Oengus of Tallaght and with his immediate successors O'Donovan and Ó Comraidhe. To-day his remains lie at rest, in the little graveyard at Burrane near the Shannon shore, beside those of the poor Cailín Bán, for whose body he had fulfilled one of the great precepts of charity when the river gave up its dead. There is one place at least where he will never be forgotten. The windows of the little school at Burrane look out upon his grave ; and we may be sure that, as now so also in the years to come, the masters who teach there will keep his memory green amongst the children on whose forefathers he spent the great store of his learning ' in dark and evil days '.

DERMOT F. GLEESON

FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCED EARLY WOMEN-WRITERS OF FICTION

BY B. G. MACCARTHY, M.A., PH.D.

University College, Cork

F Will Shakespeare had had a sister who was endowed with literary genius, could she have won to success in that early period? What ctors would have impeded her literary development? These questions, ised by Virginia Woolf in her excellent essay *A Room of One's Own*, ay usefully be taken as the starting-point of a long journey backwards rough the years—a journey which has for its object an evaluation of ose forces which influenced women writers during the sixteenth, seven- enth and eighteenth centuries.

Women's contribution to literature is no arbitary or artificial istinction. However much the reformer may welcome or the conserva- ve lament the growth of a harmonious sharing of ideals between men id women, that growth has been a hard-fought struggle. It has been i escape from a prison which, when it did not entirely shut out the eater world, at least enclosed a little world of education meant for women, literature adapted to the supposed limitations of their intellect, and a ourse of action prescribed by the other sex. To show how the literary forts of women developed and justified their claim to free activity would volve a work of some scope ;[1] but within the compass of a short essay ne may at least outline the limitations which hedged in those women ho, during the early centuries, elected to write. That they chose fiction their principal medium was natural, but it was at the same time highly gnificant.

Women make their entrance into fiction with the development of the ort tale such as the *novella*, which has love-interest as its pivotal point. Iarie de France, writing in England in the twelfth century, found in the isodic lays exactly the mould which suited her, and she used it with ch ease that she had scope to develop her technique and to create, om the oft-told tales of the minstrels, works of art which not only endured ut served as an inspiration to later writers. Margaret of Navarre, writing prose, found the short tale equally suited to her powers, and in her se also ease of technique allowed her genius to express itself with a ower perhaps not surpassed by Bandello or Boccaccio. These women xcelled because they were, for the most part, retelling stories they had eard, but most of all because they had for subject-matter themes and

[1]Through the courtesy of Cork University Press, this article is condensed from the rthcoming publication *Women Writers*, 1621-1744.

events most familiar, if not in their own lives, then certainly in the lives of those about them.

But alas for the women of the seventeenth century! They were born into an age when fictional modes were little suited to their abilities. The Pastoral Romance, which had originated in the *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus, had by then lost its fine simplicity. Daphnis and Chloe, neglected on their pastoral slope, were growing up and developing a stultifying artificiality. Their simple idyll was now to be complicated—by rival lovers, perfidy, royalty incognito, shipwreck and chivalrous emprises—into a superfluity of characters endlessly involved in a mazer of tedious events. And where Sir Philip Sydney led with his *Arcadia*, what could an ambitious niece do but follow? It could not be expected that Lady Mary Wroath in her *Urania* (1621) would escape the quagmire of the Pastoral Romance, though actually she overpassed its pitfalls with far more success than might have been supposed. If women were daring even in attempting to write, it is not to be expected, at that stage, that they would have the extreme audacity to become innovators as well. If only, instead of being satisfied with diligently copying the headline set by men, they could have bridged the great gap between romantic and domestic fiction, then not only would the development of the novel have been hastened by hundreds of years, but women would have been able to exert their talents on exactly the subject-matter which they knew best, and consequently there would have been far more women writers.

That the writing of fiction becomes clumsy hackwork in the hands of the uneducated is proved in the works of a large number of the early women novelists, but we must remember that the art of fiction evolved so slowly and with so many digressions of form and content that there was not, for a long time, any clearly defined standard of what fiction ought to be. This was one reason why women were brave enough to attempt such writing. Women enjoyed stories (particularly love-stories which confirmed their personal view of the focal point of life) and, unlike poetry, unlike essays which called for a cultural mould and commerce in abstractions, a story could be told by anybody who had sufficient gumption to sandwich a middle between a beginning and an end. "To the composition of novels and romances," says Fielding bitterly, "nothing is necessary but paper, pens, and ink, with the manual capacity of using them." Writing much later George Eliot says that in novel-writing there are no barriers for incapacity to stumble against.

If this could be said in the middle of the nineteenth century, how much less formulated was the form of the novel three centuries earlier! And yet one cannot fail to observe that, according as the art of fiction became (as it did) more exigent with advancing years, women continued not only to maintain the required standard, but often to surpass it and even to contribute to the development of new genres.

It might have been imagined that when Elizabethan fiction developed ong the lines of the Pastoral Romance, the picaresque novel and the uild-tales, women would have retired from the lists, despairing of ver achieving the pseudo-Greek note, the pot-house experience, or the adesman's touch so necessary respectively to these three types of fiction. f the three, the Pastoral Romance was the easiest because, though one ight not progress with classic grace, one could, at any rate, undulate leasantly through mazes sufficiently intricate to defy detection. Since re-Restoration women writers were of the upper classes, it was not kely that they would choose such plebeian realism as the guild-tales r their literary medium, even if they felt competent to portray that aspect f life, and it was not to be imagined that any female pen would then dare o follow a rogue, whether Spanish or English, into the unimagined dens f his villainy. The picaro's swashbuckling attitude to women could not e changed unless by reforming the picaro, and a reformed picaro is a ontradiction in terms. Therefore, with a delicate flutter, the female ens took refuge in gentle valleys, beside murmuring brooks, where shep- erd and shepherdess anticipated the poses of Dresden.

But although the Pastoral novel was moribund with the passing of ne Elizabethan age, its mummied form obtruded itself for long upon ne attention of the reading public, and its ghostly accents continued to cho in the style of subsequent prose fiction for a century and a half. The persistence of the Pastoral tradition and the delay in the development f realistic fiction are more easily understandable when we recall that eople of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries preferred to find life epresented before the footlights than in the pages of a book. Women n Shakespeare's time did not write plays because the blank-verse form alled for a technique in language which they did not possess, but with he Restoration period came a spate of women dramatists—most notably Aphra Behn, Mrs. Centlivre, Mrs. Manley, Mrs. Pix and Mrs. Trotter. These were highly successful in this new medium for story-telling. Not nly was the subject-matter more congenial, but the prose dialogue most enerally used required only the power of brilliant verbal fencing which vould be instinctive in a witty woman. Background and dialogue were udimentary as yet in the novel, and characterisation was so rare as almost o be non-existent.

But there was another consideration which, from the beginning of vomen's literary adventuring, had loomed large and greatly affected heir work and their status. This was the condemnatory attitude of he reading public towards women writers. Masculine condemnation f women's quill-driving was compounded of many simples, but chiefly f a double fear : fear that women's occupation might change their atti- ude towards domestic and social duties, and fear that women's achieve- nents might eclipse that of man. For countless ages women had been

given the sort of education which fitted them to become wives and mothers in this world and saints either here or hereafter. These activities were conducive towards man's happiness and were no encroachment on territory which he was accustomed to consider as peculiarly his own. But if women were to realise themselves in some separate way, if they, like men, should have an intellectual life, which of necessity must be led alone and which, as man knew, was richly self-rewarding, might not women become intolerable from the man's point of view?

Mean indeed was the reputation of women writers, when they were so fortunate as to have any reputation at all. The reading public and the general public (those widening circles in the pool of opinion obedient to the stones cast by critics) divided women writers into three chief classes, each of which received a different judgment.

First there was a class of women writers who not only escaped condemnation, but were never even put on trial. These were the dilettante ladies, the literary dabblers, who wrote polite verse, translated plays and pious treatises, and kept their eyes well averted from the roaring pageant of life. Always they were of the privileged classes. Often they were the relatives of literary men, and won an amused tolerance or a degree of kindly commendation for their precocity. In the case of the Countess of Pembroke and Lady Mary Wroath (the sister and the niece of Sir Philip Sydney) they might have written the *Heptameron*, and not the slightest murmur of disapproval would have disturbed the paeons of loving praise which enveloped that illustrious family. Amongst its many virtues was a profound generosity in literary patronage, and so it was that the Countess of Pembroke was accounted a notable success in literature. Yet her works, so lavishly eulogised, consist of a play translated from the French (never acted and never even read by the critics who extolled it); a poem whose sole claim to recognition was that Spenser published it with his *Astrophel;* and a metrical version of the Psalms, in which she was helped by her brother and her chaplain. Nash, Spenser, Nicholas Breton, Whincop, Osborne, Langbaine and many others were loud in her praise, and her epitaph was written probably by Ben Jonson.

Let us compare the case of Marie de France, who made so notable a contribution to French literature: "Tous, à l'exception de Denys Pyramus, qui en a dit peu de chose, ont gardé un profond silence sur cette femme fort supérieure à son siècle par ses lumières, par ses sentiments, et par le courage qu'elle eut de dire la vérité à des oreilles mal disposées ou peu accoutumées à l'entendre."[1] What is the explanation of this silence? It is apparently that Marie belonged to the great company of women writers who were condemned by their own generation. They were condemned because they were suspected either of looseness or eccentricity. If they were suspect on moral grounds, absence of evidence

[1] Works of Marie de France (ed. de Roquefort); introductory note.

not acquit them, and the best they could hope for was the grudging ttish judgment " Not proven ". The third class, those who were riously above moral reproach, but were still suspect of some abnor-lity, was labelled " Queer ".

That the Duchess of Newcastle was considered queer is confirmed by the criticisms of her own time. Queer she undoubtedly was, but she l sufficient genius to justify her eccentricity—a fact recognised by sraeli. And though she showed a fine disregard for her critics male l female, yet she was very conscious that current opinion was opposed literary pursuits for a woman. She appeals endlessly for her right to an author. Is it not better for her to occupy her time in writing than behave loosely as so many Court ladies do? Is her occupation really s useful than painting and embroidery, or " the making of Flowers, xes, Baskets with Beads, Shells, Silke and Strawe? " " I hope you l spare me," she says to her readers, " for the Harthe is swept cleane, l a Bason of Water with a cleane Towell set by, and the Ashes rak'd ; wherefore let my book sleep quietly, and the Watchlight burning arly . . . and let it be still from your noise, that the feminine Cat y not mew, nor the masculine Curs bark nor howle out railings to turbe my harmless Booke's rest." The feminine cats, however, con-ued to mew, as they had done from the beginning of women's literary orts. Again and again the women writers comment on this feminine ack upon them. " Nay, even my own sex," says Susannah Centlivre, vhich should assert our prerogative against such detractors, are often ckwards to encourage the female pen." And writing long afterwards 1791) Elizabeth Hamilton says : " You know how female writers are ked down upon. The women fear and hate, the men ridicule and spise them."

Still, it must be allowed that, apart from the prejudice and even the ssible envy with which the non-literary woman regarded her more ted sisters, there was often a legitimate reason for objecting on moral ounds to the women who wrote fiction and to the kind of fiction which y wrote. Men had created the standard of literary taste, and if women re to write at all, they had to compete with men on their own ground. was not considered improper that men should write loosely for a reading blic (or for an audience) composed of women as well as men, nor even t they should write lewdly for women's particular instruction—for example, did Jacques d'Amiens, whose *L'Art d'Amors* was rely one of many such works during the Middle Ages. " Chez ques d'Amiens les femmes ne sont pas considerées que comme des joux qui sont là uniquement pour le plaisir des hommes ; il ne con-ère jamais le côté moral des choses ; il n'a pas de sens moral."[1] It seems

[1]Alice A. Heutsch : *De la Littérature didactique du moyen âge s'adressant spécialement femmes* (Cahors, 1903), p. 68f.

surprising that women might consume such literary repasts in the privacy of their bowers, but emphatically might not cater for such tastes in others. There is indeed a moral distinction in culpability, but it was not this consideration which inspired the general condemnation of women writers.

It is not for us to determine whether women writers should have wished or attempted to evangelise the reading public. In any case, they could not possibly have done so. The fact that they entered into literary competition meant that they accepted the code established by the majority of writers in accordance with popular demand. Literary fame and later financial success depended on playing the game at least as well as their masculine adversaries, and playing a game involves the acceptance of definite rules and the developing of a particular technique. Women who wrote according to a standard of their own would have had as much hope of success as if they had decided to play hockey with a crochet-hook. Playing even in the accepted way, they had to take it for granted that the umpire-critics would always be prejudiced and that the public would howl them down at every opportunity. They were like a visiting team in hostile country where their every effort would be adjudged offside. If they were ever to win approval, they needed to be not merely as good but better than their opponents, and the difficulty of this is evident when one reflects that they were heavily handicapped from the beginning. That they did adapt themselves to the rigours of the contest, that they did score so early in the game was a triumph—unpopular and not without its price. Wounded reputation was to be expected and at one period was really deserved, although even then the public put the cart before the horse. The literary women of the Restoration were not loose because they were writers. They were writers because they were loose. They were adventuresses before they adventured into literature. In a word they were driven by circumstances to drive a quill, and they had the only equipment by which a woman of that time could succeed in letters—great intellectual vigour and an absence of scruples. It was nothing much to them that, as women writers, they had lost caste. They had lost caste already. Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Centlivre, Mrs. Manley, Mrs. Pix, Mrs. Haywood and the rest of the battered crew came to the profession of writing with no illusions, almost no education, a wide though ill-balanced experience of life and an immense vigour of mind and body. They asked and they got no quarter, and they stamped their names defiantly into the minds of their contemporaries and into literary history.

It is no mean feat at any time to make a living by free-lance writing. In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was incredibly difficult. It was easier to starve than to eat by the sweat of one's brain as even men writers, from the days of Nash, Dekker, Fox and Drayton knew to their cost. To be a genius was no guarantee against the gutter or imprisonment for debt. It was necessary to find patrons and to keep

tem from tiring; to cultivate anyone who might have influence; to ingratiate oneself with editors and booksellers; to flatter the critics; to be hail-fellow-well-met with all sorts of people in all sorts of places; to be ready to turn one's hand to anything—play-patching, "ghosting," political propaganda, rudimentary newspaper work; to haunt the green-rooms and "keep in with" the players; to write plays for a small circle of loose-livers at a time when no decent woman would go to a theatre and when even the courtezans went masked. It will be admitted that no conventional woman could do all this, and if a group of unconventional women did it, then we must evaluate the gain entirely from the literary point of view. Nobody can contest the literary contributions of Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Centlivre, Mrs. Haywood and even Mrs. Manley. With the exception of Mrs. Centlivre (who excelled exclusively as a dramatist), these women wrote not only plays (which had an indirect but definite influence on the growth of fiction) but notably aided the development of the novel, both by using accepted forms and by helping to initiate other forms.

But there was another kind of literary composition, other than poetry, which even in the seventeenth century was considered legitimate for female pens. This was the biography or autobiography, and it is interesting to note in how far it shaped towards fiction in the hands of those women who employed it. Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke,[1] the Duchess of Newcastle, Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson and Lady Fanshawe wrote their biographies, the first so as to clarify her daughter's claims in a legal dispute; the Duchess and Lucy Hutchinson, as it were, *en passant*—their particular interest being centred in writing their husband's biographies. Lady Fanshawe more evenly develops her own life-story with that of her husband.

Biography had for women the advantage of giving them a chance to write on a subject they really knew; but the necessity for authenticity, which was the object and to them the justification of their compositions, crippled their imaginative powers. Their very familiarity with the people and the events presented in these works made it difficult for them to realise the necessity of describing them fully for other people. Thus, with the exception of Lady Fanshawe (the most vivid and detailed of the female biographers), they do not essay descriptions of domestic events nor attempt to sketch in, however roughly, the backgrounds they knew so well. They do not show much perspective. There is no dramatic irony. There is an entire lack of humour, due no doubt to the fact that when these women wrote they were worn out by many griefs. Their unrelieved seriousness may also be ascribed to an excessive anxiety. They were determined to present their husbands, their families and themselves in the best possible light, and it is hard to smile with one's teeth clenched.

[1] Daughter-in-law to the Countess of Pembroke already mentioned.

These women biographers were confronted too with another serious difficulty, namely the necessity of showing the development of their family fortunes in relation to the Civil War and the Restoration. As might be expected, the results are clumsy. They could scarcely have been otherwise, seeing that the genre of the historical novel, faintly shadowed forth in their compositions, was yet almost a century and a half from its full evolution.

Mrs. Manley's efforts at disguised autobiography came much later than the works of the women biographers whom we have mentioned, and it came much nearer to direct fiction. In *The New Atalantis* she had introduced, in a spasmodic and vagrant way, some account of herself under the name of Delia. The idea evidently developed in her mind and claimed fuller expression in *Rivella*. The fact that *Rivella* was a biography in the form of a key-novel gave Mrs. Manley a great advantage over her more forthright predecessors. The thin cloaking of reality in the key-novel gave just the necessary amount of freedom for the exercise of imagination and individuality. When Mrs. Manley wrote *Rivella* she stood outside her life and contemplated its happenings in the light of after-knowledge; and this detachment, this escape from the hair-splitting responsibility of authenticity, from the dogmatism of the everlasting "I," was exactly what was needed for the development of biography into fiction. The close analogy between Defoe's *Roxana* and Mrs. Manley's *Rivella* shows how two genres, originally separate, eventually become telescoped for opposite and corresponding reasons. Defoe veiled his fictions under the appearance of fact; Mrs. Manley veiled her facts under an appearance of fiction. This was a bold defiance of the convention which decreed that, if women must write at all, then they ought to confine themselves to authenticated compositions; if they must feign, then it must be the sort of feigned writing called poetry.

Nevertheless, and despite the passing of the Restoration school of female desperadoes, women continued to write fiction. What else could they do, if they were to write at all? Mary Davys, a clergyman's widow, was typical of a new kind of woman writer—the respectable woman who, forced for some reason to support herself, could find no other way of doing so save by writing or keeping a school. Sometimes, like Harriet and Sophia Lee, they did both, and even then they could rarely do more than exist on their earnings. Mrs. Mary Latter gives a description of herself which might easily be taken to designate her kind: "Resident not very far from the market-place, immersed in business and in debt; sometimes madly hoping to gain a competency; sometimes justly fearing dungeons and distress." These writers seem to have been overwhelmed by doubts as to the legitimacy of fiction and of female authorship. If they had any real impulse to write, any real conviction of ability, or any real literary ambition, they hastened to disclaim it so that they might pro-

tiate their public. There were legions of such women, a few with ıe gifts, most of them without; all protesting, expostulating, explaining, fending their having dared to write.

But fortunately for the quality of women's literary work, it was not erely external necessity which continued to drive women to authorship. here was sometimes an inner compulsion of genius which neither lack education nor convention could stifle; and it is useful to recall in is connection that women of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ill received no education worthy of the name. This was true even of ose women who came of cultured families, and this lack of education as to a great extent deliberate, so that we may say without exaggeration ıat the ignorance of women in those days was an effect of the prevailing nvention. "It was not the fashion for young ladies to be literary; woman who wrote or read much was thought to be a HALF-MAN!" ince education was supposed to endanger a girl's chance of marriage, it oes not surprise us that Fanny Burney was so badly educated that, at ght years old, she did not know the alphabet; nor does it appear at all nnatural that Frances Sheridan's father disapproved of women being ught to read and was vigorously opposed to their being taught to rite. One can but wonder therefore at the miracle of *Evelina* and of *Miss Sydney Biddulph*.

And what of George Eliot, sprung from the tradesman class, who, hen the women of cultured families had but little hope of education, ill could not repress her ambition and could not stifle in her mind the npulse to clothe in fiction a whole philosophy of life? We watch her cquiring knowledge, withdrawing into a world of her own fashioning, xperimenting in literary form, doggedly driving upwards out of the ultifying mediocrity of her surroundings until she becomes the assistant ditor of a highly intellectual London review; the friend of Spencer; ıe author of novels which led Lord Acton to say that she was greater than)ante, while Herbert Spencer exempted her works, as if they were not ction, when he banned all novels from the London library.

Whether women novelists wrote from genuine inspiration or from ıere financial necessity, certain it is that they did not do so to win fame. Novels were a more likely source of notoriety than of fame even in Jane ıusten's time. One of the most striking proofs of the attitude which a ensible and discreet person might take towards seeing his name on the tle-page of a novel is the fact that Sir Walter Scott at first published nder a pseudonym. If a man shied away from such publicity, a woman ad an added reason for doing so, since her defiance of conventionality ould be so much greater than his. Thus it is that the student of women's orks of fiction needs a pretty wit in resolving the mysteries which they ave woven about their authorship. Even literary success did not always ure them into declaring their identity—as we see, for example, in the

case of Jane Austen. Her novels were published anonymously after they had mouldered in a drawer for years. Though the authorship of the novels was an open secret to her friends, it was not made public until after her death, and while she lived she remained unknown. The Brontes at least emerged during their lifetime from the obscurity of their noms-de-plume.

But with the coming of Jane Austen a new note appears in the attitude of women novelists. Criticism and indifference had until then driven them to expostulate, to cringe or to defy, in accordance with their particular temperaments or circumstances. Jane Austen does none of these things. Her only apologia was a defence not of women novelists but of the art of fiction, and she showed that neither fear nor opportunism could deflect her from her particular métier. She was fully aware of the artistic value of her work and equally conscious of her limitations. Not even the patronage of a Prince Regent could persuade her to relinquish the right of keeping her own literary conscience. This is a milestone in the story of women novelists and though, there being only one Jane Austen, many women after her were to wheedle or to flout their public, the miracle had been accomplished—the miracle of a woman novelist who was not conscious of inferiority and whose work was not influenced by what Fielding inimitably calls "a little reptile of a critic".

Looking back over the long years since 1621, during which women persisted in writing fiction, we see rising above the flood of mediocrity certain names which connote something of value, which mark some definite contribution to the development of English fiction. In fact, so consistently did women keep step with the advance in novel writing that to trace their progress is to trace the progress of the novel itself. To trace women's contribution to fiction is somewhat like tracing the contribution of a common soldier in a great campaign. It looks, at first, as if no one should ever hear of this undistinguished fighter—of his amazing energy, endurance and good-humour, of his dogged refusal to go under without giving a good account of himself. It seems as if, granted these qualities, his natural limitations and an invidious convention would keep him in the ranks. But nothing in life is surer than that real ability coupled with ambition must find its own level, and as the common soldier, indispensable even in his normal sphere, often by a stroke of genius so natural that it appears merely an impulse, saves the situation and turns the tide, so also women writers not only shared all the dust and heat, but often by a culmination of originality and technique initiated a new genre of fiction. There is no kind of novel which they did not attempt, and there are few kinds which they did not enrich. The pastoral novel, the *novella*, the picaresque, the satire, the novel of authenticated realism, the novel of sensibility, of manners, of domestic life, of social purpose, the Gothic novel, the Oriental novel, the epistolary novel—in all these genres they

re active, many of them they helped to initiate, and in some of them y showed genius.

What is literary initiation? It is easier to show what it is not. It not to give birth to an entirely new type of fiction which leaps fully ned like Pallas Athene from the head of Jupiter. Literary initiation is : result of a slow development of certain literary tendencies which, nost unconsciously, come into being and await the mind which will cognise their value and will, by experiment, unify them and give them a finite place among mature literary genres. This Mrs. Radcliffe did the Gothic novel, exerting an immense influence on the writers of the mantic Revival; this Fanny Burney and Jane Austen did for the mestic novel and the novel of manners, revolutionising completely the nception of realism in fiction; this Aphra Behn did, anticipating Swifte, lateaubriand and Rousseau; this Mrs. Manley did for the epistolary vel; this Mary Shelley did for the pseudo-scientific tale of wonder; is Charlotte Lennox did for the anti-Romantic satire; this George iot did for the philosophic novel; this Charlotte Bronte did for the bjective novel—the novel which shows life as it is reflected in an isolated ul. Emily Bronte did far more than all this in her novel which, without cestors or progeny, by one superb explosion of genius defies criticism classification.

And it is not only in strength and patience, marching side by side with e men writers who disowned them, nor in leadership to which they d not aspire but to which their inspirations carried them, that women ntributed to the English novel. They contributed to it also by giving it a new conception of women. This they could not do for a long ne, impeded as they were by a succession of artificial literary vogues. hen the Heroic tradition gave way before the rise of sensibility, verisi- ilitude gained little. The Heroic beauties had wandered elegantly rough an unreal world. Heroines of sensibility were shown in real rroundings, and the unreal world was now within their breasts. It ıd been put there by Richardson, and never surely did a more absurd ble delude the public than the fable of Richardson's marvellous insight to the feminine heart. But so great was Richardson's vogue with his omen readers that, had it been possible for them to abjure nature and regulate their cardiac activities according to the Richardsonian scheme, ey would have done so. But alas, this was beyond even feminine daptability! It must have been with mingled feelings of regret and lief that they found in the pages of Fanny Burney and Jane Austen st such women as themselves—women whose beauty, wit and wisdom ere subject to decay; whose virtue was not infallible; who could suffer ithout histrionics and who could love without illusion. But English ction had to await the coming of Emily Brontë to hear the authentic ccents of love and grief.

B. G. MacCarthy

TORQUATO TASSO

Born 11 March 1544—Died 25 April 1595

BY PATRICK MACBRIDE

Professor of Italian, University College, Dublin

FOUR hundred years of romantic associations surround the name and memory of the younger Tasso. His sensitive nature, his never-ending troubles and thwarted ambitions combined, with his poetic genius, to endow his life with an interest often denied to the greatest. Shrouded in the mist of legend even in his own days and in the eyes of those who knew him, he was an oracle to some, a maniac to others; to all, however, he was the luckless victim of his own fitful temperament and unfortunate circumstances. To the crowd he has always been the typical poet: crazy and highly-strung, romantic with fits of overwhelming and unreturned love, moody and brooding, a visionary whose misfortunes are multiplied by his utter disregard for the practical. Thus he has never failed to appeal to that sympathy which the helpless and harmless dreamer arouses in his more matter-of-fact and successful fellow-man. The story of his love for a princess, sister of his patron, may be doubtful historically; but it has charmed the romantic in poets of the fame of Goethe, Byron and Shelley. For legend will have it that, from this unhappy passion for Leonora D'Este, sprang all his misfortunes and even his long imprisonment.

Torquato Tasso was born at Sorrento in 1544. His father, Bernardo, poet of the *Amadigi di Francia*, was a writer of note even in a period of such high standards as the early cinquecento. For years he was in the service of Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno, who in 1552 fell into disgrace with his overlord Charles V. As a result he and his adherents were outlawed, and Bernardo, his First Secretary, was involved in the general ruin. The Tasso property was confiscated, the head of the family was an exile for life, and Torquato was left to the care of his mother who was prevented from joining her husband. For the next two years the young Tasso was educated by the Jesuits in their new school in the *Via del Gigante* in Naples, where he "was taught Latin well and a fair amount of Greek". At the age of ten he was allowed to join his father, while his mother and his only sister, Cornelia, now deprived of even the furniture of their house, were given a home in the convent of San Festo where the mother soon died.

Torquato's series of wanderings and misfortunes had begun. In 1556 we hear of him as staying with his father's relatives in Bergamo, and the next year he is at the court of Urbino where for two years he is educated with the future duke, Francesco Maria. In 1559 we find him in Venice

ith his father who, in the following year, sends Torquato to study law the University of Padua. During his first year at the University he seems have had a right good time; at any rate he passed no examinations r, having done no work, he had the good sense not to present himself, id the wrath of his poetic father was appeased by the production of numer- is sonnets and madrigals in lieu of a pass in First Law. During this year so, at the age of sixteen, he began an epic poem *Rinaldo* which earned m deserved fame on its publication two years later. When a second year rought a tempestuous love affair with fifteen year old Lucrezia Bendidio vho married Count Paolo Machiavelli the following year) but no further xamination results, the ever-patient Bernardo tried a change of University, id so in 1562 Torquato was sent to Bologna. He had to leave the city rriedly, once more without examination results, when it was discovered iat he was the author of a biting lampoon against some professors, udents and prominent citizens. After a short stay in Modena and a oliday at Mantua, where again we find him violently in love and writing travagant sonnets to Laura Perperara (who later married Count Turco), e returned to Padua where he read Arts, once more with no recorded iccess. In the following year Torquato reached the goal of his young mbition when he was taken into the service of Cardinal Luigi d'Este, r now he had access to the great renaissance court of Ferrara and the rotection of a family with an unrivalled tradition for its lavish patronage f the arts.

The Este family dates back to the time of Charlemagne who made ie Boniface Count of Lucca and Marquis of Tuscany. In the tenth ntury a descendant of Boniface became Lord of Este, a small but very ncient town situated between Padua and Ferrara; and from iat date, 961, the family is known as d'Este. One of the Lords of Este, lberto Azzo II, was a strong and active supporter of Hildebrand and in 077 assisted at the penitence scene of the Emperor at Canossa. A son f his, Guelfo, gave his name to the papal party which the Este led for iree centuries in that long struggle with the Ghibellines. From this eriod also dates the family's connection with the German house of Guelf, ow the royal house of England. By the beginning of the thirteenth ntury Ferrara had become the principal seat of the Este, and from ien to the death of Alfonso II in 1597, some four hundred troublesome ears in Italian history, the family was favoured with a continuous line f vigorous and efficient rulers. As may be seen by the visitor of to-day, ie city was strongly protected and fortified; its streets were unusually road and well planned; its houses were well built; its industry and ommerce were nurtured and developed and protected; and its finances ere cared with a wisdom that makes Italians regard Ferrara as the first f the really modern cities with the first complete and modern system of nance.

The Este patronage of art and letters begins more particularly in 1388 with the accession of Alberto V, whose father is remembered for having entertained Petrarch with nigh regal hospitality. For exactly the next two hundred years, until 1588 when Ferrara passed into the hands of the Papacy, the spirit of Maecenas had a long and continuous stay in the court of Ferrara. There were only eight rulers in those two hundred years, thus making the fine average of twenty-five years to a reign, and each one of those rulers from Alberto V to Alfonso II has left his mark in a prominent way on the Italian Renaissance.

Alberto founded the University of Ferrara in 1391; Nicholas II brought to his court the humanist Guarino da Verona, noted as the first teacher of the Renaissance to give public lectures on Greek language and literature; Leonello, who had been educated by Guarino, was the patron of Vittore Pisanello, prince of modern medallists, who rewarded Leonello by leaving to posterity a masterpiece portrait of his patron; Borso and his successor Ercole I, as well as continuing the work of their predecessors in enlarging and strengthening the city, had Cosimo Tura on their regular pay-list as court painter and decorator, and Boiardo, the author of *Orlando Innamorato*, a favourite of both, held many offices at the court; Alfonso I, for whom the ill-famed Lucrezia Borgia made such an excellent wife, had as his protégés both Titian and Ariosto; Ercole II, son of Alfonso and Lucrezia Borgia, whose rule coincides with the beginnings of Renaissance decadence, married Renée de France, daughter of Louis XII of France. Readers of Goethe's *Torquato Tasso* will remember her as the mother of whose culture Princess Leonora speaks with such praise. Renée's calvinistic leanings and her protection of many famous lettered protestants, among them the French poet Clément Marot, made Ferrara noted as a refuge of heretics. This reputation did not fit in with Ercole's foreign policy, for in 1539 he had ended the tension and discord which existed for some time between Ferrara and the Papacy by concluding a friendly and satisfactory treaty. Perhaps it is a sign of the decadence of the house of Este that, in such circumstances, even the daughter of a King of France could escape with her life. Ercole merely exiled his wife—interesting weakness for the son of a Borgia. Alfonso II, the patron of Tasso and Battista Guarini, came at the end of this long line of strong and intelligent rulers who had enriched themselves and their city over a period of nearly four hundred years; who had consistently encouraged the arts in all their forms; who built a magnificent city with broad straight streets and walled it so as to leave room for the comfortable housing of a hundred thousand people. And so Ferrara of to-day, with its fifty thousand inhabitants, has still plenty of open space within its well-preserved walls to house many more thousands. The Este of the fifteenth century, in their magnificent way, planned well for posterity.

The luxurious and sumptuous life of the Ferrara court in the cinquecento

ıttested by well-documented accounts. Beginning in 1502 with the great
l long-drawn-out entertainments for the marriage of Alfonso I and
crezia Borgia (which elicited reports of amazement even from the weary
l surfeited ambassadors of that grandiose period of Italian history)
l ending with the sumptuous receptions of Alfonso II in his villa of
lriguardo, we have a century of princely, luxurious, extravagant and
moral court life. True it is that during this period the dukes welcomed
l protected such men as Ariosto, Guarini and Torquato Tasso; but
get the impression that no longer is the Este encouragement of the
s any more than an excellent means of publicity and self-
vertisement. Into this court of artistic tradition, luxury and deca-
ıce came, in 1565, the worldly ambitious and yet sensitively religious
rquato Tasso.

During the next few years Tasso wrote innumerable sonnets and love
ıgs, mainly in the petrarchan and courtly tradition, and finished some
ıtos of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* with which he hoped to surpass the
ne Ariosto had derived from his *Orlando Furioso*. In 1570 a visit with
patron to the French capital—where, amongst others, he had the
asure of meeting Ronsard—shows how ill-suited for courtly service
s the uncompromisingly religious Tasso. The political intrigues
the hour called for a temporising attitude towards the Huguenots;
t Tasso, who could never make terms with his surroundings, caused
ısternation in the Cardinal's suite by a more intransigent profession
Catholic faith than was thought expedient. This ended his first appoint-
nt, and the disconsolate and disillusioned poet returned to Italy.
ıere, however, the favour he had already found with the Cardinal's
ters, Lucrezia and Leonora, and his eldest brother, the Duke of Ferrara,
ved the situation. Alfonso took him into his own service as a gentleman-
waiting. Dispensed from all duties which might interfere with his
etical work and with a monthly salary and many allowances, Tasso
ınd this post very congenial.

Tasso's many short poems and letters of this period tell, in no unmis-
table terms, how the regard shown him by the ladies of the court and
particular by the duke's sisters was pleasing to his pride and ambition.
hat truth is in the story of his love for Leonora d'Este is hard to decide.
ven his temperament, he probably fell madly in love with her on many
casions—as he did with quite a number of women; he tells us himself
ite frankly that his love "was always inconstant, though violent,"
d that he could never be sure how long even his deepest affections might
t. Thus Goethe makes Tasso true to character in his outburst of love
Leonora, but of course the incident may have no historical foundation.
ıat there was an understanding of no shallow depth between the two is
ggested by the will he made in 1570 on the eve of his departure for
ris. In case of his death on what he considers a perilous journey he asks

his executor to arrange for the publication of several of his poems. The most important of these were some eight cantos of the *Gerusalemme*. Should monetary assistance be needed, he instructs his friend " to approach the most excellent Lady Leonora, who I am confident for love of me will give generously." And years later, on the death of Leonora, Tasso invokes her as " that noble flame which once consumed my heart." Most modern critics argue that the love was platonic, a thesis difficult to sustain when a man of Tasso's temperament is concerned.

For a year or two Tasso's life went a relatively pleasant and serene course, coloured however by the sadness of his recent disillusions. From his letters we know how he enjoyed the plaudits of the court on the many occasions when he read some new composition. Perhaps his greatest triumph was on the evening of July 31, 1573, when the whole court enthusiastically applauded the first production of that most beautiful of pastoral poems *L'Aminta*. Guarini, Tasso's contemporary at the court of Ferrara, followed with his *Pastor Fido*, but failed to reproduce the marvellous melody and lyrical heights of the *Aminta*. An English testimony to the beauty and immediate popularity of the poem may be found in the imitation and plagiarism of Elizabethan writers and in the fact that it was published in England, years before the death of its author, both in the original and in translation.

For the next two years Tasso strained to finish his great epic on the first crusade, the *Goffredo* as he called it then, now known to us as the *Gerusalemme Liberata*. A letter of 6 April, 1575 to Cardinal Albano tells us that he has just recovered from a trying illness and that the poem is completed at last. With it his ambition was not only to improve on Ariosto's *Orlando*, but to produce a Christian Iliad which might rival the pagan original. Tasso himself tells us that he planned the *Goffredo* in his youth, and, as a preparation, made a detailed study of the history and theory of heroic poetry ; the result of this study he has left us in his *Discorsi dell'arte poetica e in particolare sopra il poema eroico*. His conclusions are that, although the subject matter may be historical, the poem may not succeed in pleasing without the " wonderful " ; and this is not to be sought in pagan religions because we know them to be false, but in the Old Testament or in Christianity which we know to be true. Thus only can we effect the unity between the *mirabile* and the *verosimile*, both so necessary in the heroic poem. Having decided where his subject must be sought, he sets himself the problem of choosing between the very ancient, the very modern and one that is in neither extreme. He rejects the first as it would introduce customs too much at variance with those of his readers ; the second would deny the poet the freedom of invention " as it would be brazen audacity to present facts of our own times other than as many have seen them ". So he chooses the third as being sufficiently remote to permit minor alteration of facts and sufficiently near not to entail a complete contrast in customs

thought. Illustrating this point, he mentions the doings of Charlemagne
his paladins and the story of the first crusade as suitable subjects
the perfect epic to be written in sixteenth century Italy. Elsewhere
roduction to *Rinaldo*) at the age of eighteen Tasso had announced his
as a heroic poet to be the blending of the unity of the classical epic
h the variety of the modern chivalry poem, and he maintained this
w to the end. And so we find that the *Gerusalemme* combines both:
great undertaking and noble deeds of the crusaders are another *Iliad*;
miracles and love scenes are an *Orlando Furioso*. In this way Tasso
sfied both his own aristotelian ideals and his readers' cravings for the
antic and the wonderful of the chivalry poems of Italy.

But Tasso's temperament is that of lyricism and sensitive sadness,
l it is in the scenes of mingled sorrow and sentiment that he achieves
finest effects; the seductive melody of his verse leads us sympathetically
ough passages of extravagant sighs and tears. Tasso set out to write an
c and only partly succeeded; but he has succeeded in giving us a
rvellously beautiful poem of melancholy lyricism and music. Some
criptions of people and their deeds would undoubtedly be accounted
r-lengthy were it not for the palpitating life he gives to both. This
se of reality springs from the facility with which the poet enters into
ir aspirations and disappointments, the versatility and strong feeling
h which he identifies himself with his characters in their varied emotions.
s own sorrows may be read right through the poem. Stories of sudden,
lent and unrequited love abound. Heroes and heroines are often
ject to a cruel destiny; they are within reach of their ambitions when
e steps in with that inexorableness so typical of Tasso's own life.

The *Gerusalemme* was finished within a month of the author's thirty-
t birthday, and the date marked for him the beginning of twenty years
unbroken tragedy. To ensure that the poem offended no canons of
ers or religion he sent the manuscript to several ecclesiastical and literary
horities for approval. Far from approving unreservedly, the critics—
ne of them under the influence of the rigoristic movement of the religious
ival of the century and others swayed by the traditional awe for the
id rules of pseudo-classicism—deluged Tasso with corrections and
gestions. For seventeen years he continued the wearying correspondence
d the laborious revision in accordance with their views, most of which
knew to be fatal to his poem, until finally in 1592 he completed his
ised version and called it the *Gerusalemme Conquistata*. He had rewritten,
rected and omitted, at the suggestion of his carping critics, and made
his masterpiece something ridiculously cold and arid by depriving it
some of the finest episodes and most of its harmony. Under such stress
is not surprising that Tasso never recovered the poetic verve of his
uth. Fortunately during the long-drawn-out controversy the original
em was published without the author's permission and to his great

annoyance, and so to-day the reading of the version revised with the heart-breaking labour of seventeen years is left to the critic and the curious.

Tasso's concentrated work on the revision wearied him physically; the fear of seeing it banned by the Church and his disagreements with lay critics kept him in a constant state of worry; his melancholy increased and with it came a feeling that he was being constantly spied upon and persecuted. Of this period Goethe makes him say truly: "Rest brings no rest to me." Twice he insisted on being examined by the Inquisition, and twice he was not satisfied with its verdict of orthodoxy. In June 1577 he attacked a servant with a knife, probably the historic foundation for Goethe's account of Tasso drawing his sword upon the Secretary of State. Tasso thought he was being further harried and tormented. The duke had him locked up for a few days and later put him under the care of the Franciscans of Ferrara. In July he escaped and begged his way to his sister four hundred miles away in Sorrento. Here for a short time he seemed to find happiness in the company of Cornelia and her children. But it was Tasso's misfortune to get dissatisfied with everybody and every-thing, and his uneasy spirit would not allow him to settle anywhere for long. He went to Rome; he negotiated for Alfonso's permission to return to Ferrara and received it, but two months with the Este were all he could now endure. His wanderings led him in succession to Mantua, Padua, Venice, the court of Urbino, Novara, Vercelli and even to Turin. In February 1579 he returned to Ferrara. Alfonso was being married for the third time and the city was crowded with visitors. Little attention was paid to the eccentric poet, who asked for an audience with the Duke and was refused. On the eleventh of March, his thirty-fifth birthday, Tasso, exasperated by the slights of the court, burst into violent abuse of the Duke and his bride and sisters and refused to leave the palace. He was put in chains and confined as a lunatic in the hospital of St. Anne. Here the prior, Agostino Mosti, appears in the role of Hudson Lowe, but the friendship and good counsel of the Benedictine Fr. Angelo Grillo, coupled with his deep knowledge of human psychology, probably saved the weakened mind of the poet.

Freed after seven years of confinement, Tasso recommenced his wander-ings through most of the courts and cities of Italy and finally settled in Rome in 1594. Here, some consolation for the troubled poet, Pope Clement VIII tells him that he is to be crowned poet on the Capitol, "so that the crown may be as honoured by you as in times past it honoured others." Beautiful compliment, but it came too late. Illness postponed the coronation and in April 1595 Tasso died in the monastory of Sant' Onofrio on the Janiculum—uncrowned. He was buried in Sant' Onofrio, and the simple epitaph—so out of keeping with his writings and eventful life—was

TORQUATI TASSI
OSSA HIC JACENT

P. MacBride

IOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part XI

Mac-Dermot, Thomas, soldier. Born in Roscommon in 1751. He described in the French archives as an Irish militia colonel, who came reside at Paris in 1792. He was with Lord Edward FitzGerald and her Irish notabilities, strong partisans of the Revolution, a signatory the address in November 1792 to the National Convention congratulating ıe French nation on the victories of its army over monarchic Europe ıd on events which " essentially interest all peoples who aspire to be ee ". In December 1793, however, in accordance with a governmental ecree interning all British subjects in France and despite his protests ıat he had no association with the English in that country, he was placed nder arrest. On his release a year later he applied for " a bundle of tters and two silver-handled knives " which were taken from him on is arrest. The former were returned to him, but the knives could not e traced. Several packets containing his letters, documents, &c., are ı the archives nationales (T. 1651). Among them is a letter to his brother ustin, an attorney residing in Dublin. The seals on the packets are ated January 1800, which suggests that he died in that year.

Mac-Donagh, Andrew, soldier. Born at Sligo in October 1738, e belonged to a family that boasted of forty immediate relatives serving ı the Irish Brigade in France. (One of these, his uncle and namesake Captain Andrew MacDonagh, distinguished himself at Cremona in 1702). On the completion of his studies in France he entered Dillon's regiment s a cadet in 1751, and as a lieutenant went through the Seven Years War. Later he was the victim of a series of intrigues which consigned ım at first to the Bastille and afterwards to the Ile Sainte Marguerite, vhere he was imprisoned for thirteen years in the cell that had been ccupied by the Man in the Iron Mask. The story of his vicissitudes egan while his regiment was quartered at Lille. In 1774 in that town ıe occasionally met an Irish girl, Rose Plunket, daughter of Lord Dunsany, who was at school in a convent there. At the same time there ived in Brussels an elderly gentleman of immense wealth, Count Charles O'Gara, whose nearest relative was MacDonagh, while the Plunkets lso claimed relationship with the old man. A secret marriage or form f marriage took place between the young Irish officer and Miss Plunket,

the latter returning to the convent on the day of the nuptials. Some weeks later she with some relatives seems to have entered into an intrigue to deprive Mac-Donagh of the inheritance of O'Gara. She was spirited away from the convent by her relations, and in the meantime O'Gara died leaving all his wealth to the Plunkets. A brother officer of the Irish Brigade, Count Walsh de Serrant, was involved in the plot against MacDonagh, who later charged the Count with being the instrument through whom, by a *lettre de cachet*, he was sent to the Ile Sainte Marguerite as a conspirator against the State. Imprisoned there for thirteen years, he was released in 1790 after the outbreak of the Revolution. The poet-journalist Camille Desmoulins exposed in his Journal the perfidy and intrigues that consigned an innocent Irishman to a dungeon, and another journalist of the time—an Irishman named James Rutledge (*See* RUTLEDGE, JAMES)—disclosed in 1791 in a pamphlet the full details of the conspiracy. ("Amusements du Despotisme Ministériel ou Mémoires d'un prisonnier de douze années et sept mois"). In the same year legal proceedings were instituted against Count Walsh de Serrant by MacDonagh, which resulted in the latter being awarded 60,000 livres damages.

On his release and return to Paris MacDonagh resumed his military career in Berwick's Irish regiment. In 1793 he entered into correspondence with Le Brun, Minister for Foreign Affairs, with a view to sending armed aid to the patriot party in Ireland. In 1796 he accompanied Wolfe Tone in the expedition to Bantry Bay—his name appears in a secret document in the Irish State Paper Office, sent by an English agent in France, which gives the names of the Franco-Irish officers accompanying the expedition.

MacDonagh was the author of a bulky brochure which gives a complete account of his sufferings in prison and of the intrigues which preceded his commitment. It is entitled "Mémoire de M. Mc Donagh, Irlandais de Nation, Lieutenant-Colonel du 6ome Regiment d'infanterie, Chevalier de l'ordre Royal et Militaire de St. Louis, enfermé pendant douze années et sept mois aux Iles Sainte Marguerite dans un cachot." (Paris 1792). There is a copy among the Halliday pamphlets in the R. I. Academy.

MAC-DONAGH, ANTONY, soldier. Relative of preceding. Son of Antony MacDonagh of Doolin, Co. Clare. Born at Birchfield, Co. Clare, he belonged to a branch of the Sligo family. He emigrated to France, where he joined Dillon's Irish regiment and achieved some distinction at Fontenoy. On that battlefield, as the Irish legions approached the English line, Captain MacDonagh, being in advance of his company, was singled out for attack by a British officer. The latter, in the encounter between the two, was disabled in the sword-arm and was made prisoner. The incident was a preliminary to the impetuous

arge of the Irish regiments, which changed the fortunes of the day. the following year MacDonagh was sent to Ireland on a recruiting ssion to fill up the gaps in the Brigade left by the battle. Having complished his task, he got married at home and declined the invitation return. Lord Clare, Commander-in-Chief of the Brigade, wrote to n in October 1746 from Paris: "Dear MacDonagh, I congratulate u on your marriage, but trust it will not induce you to retire from the sh Brigade. I hope you do not forget the memorable day they had Fontenoy and the glorious days in which they had a share." MacDonagh sided in Clare till his death in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

MAC-ELLIGOT, ROGER, soldier. Born *circa* 1650 at Ballymacelligot, o. Kerry. Having adopted a military career, he spent some years in e French service and, returning to Ireland at the eve of the Jacobite ar, fought throughout its course. After being made a prisoner he was nfined for some time in the Tower of London. Released in 1697 he nt to France with three of his cousins, the MacGillicudys, and in that untry he was appointed colonel of the "Regiment de Clancarty" in e Irish Brigade. His active military life in France was short and he ed at Saint Germain-en-Laye on 20th August 1702. He was married to atherine FitzGerald, daughter of John FitzGerald, Knight of Kerry, whom he had three sons who became officers of the Irish Brigade. ne of them, a captain in Clare's regiment, was killed at Fontenoy, while the same battle another won the Cross of St. Louis. Many of their nsmen, who left Ireland in 1691, rose to high rank and honour in the mies of Austria and Spain.

MAC-ENROE, DERMOT (DEMETRIUS) physician and author. Born *circa* oo. He came of a Co. Clare family whose lands in the barony of Inch-uin were forfeited in the Cromwellian period. A graduate of medicine the university of Paris and a notable figure in the French capital in e earlier half of the eighteenth century, MacEnroe was the author of any Latin poems which were regarded as being of high merit and charm. me of them are signed "Demetrius de la Croix, doctor medicus"—rench form of his Irish surname. The best known is entitled "Connubia rum latino carmine demonstrato, cum interpretatione gallica."(Dxxxx. trice Trant D.M. Paris 1728). The poem was attributed by mistake Patrick Trant, an Irish doctor of the Paris faculty and a member of the adémie Royale des Sciences, who was an expert botanist and made a ench version of the work. Several editions of the poem were published, e finest of which was that of 1791. This had the name of the real author. German translation appeared in Berlin in 1751. Two other notable ems by Mac Enroe were published in 1728, viz., "Calamus Hibernicus e Laus Hiberniae adumbrata" and "Petro Desmaretz abbati carmen."

Mac-Enery, John, ecclesiastic. Born in 1616 at Castletown-MacEnery, Co. Limerick, where his family were chiefs of the district for several centuries. (Its name has been changed to that of Castletown-Conyers after the foreign family which supplanted them). John MacEnery was educated at Paris at the time that Vincent de Paul was laying the foundations of his Congregation of the Missions. Among his earliest adherents were a number of young Irishmen that included MacEnery, who joined the Congregation in 1642 and made his vows in 1645. Some years later he was appointed professor of theology in the mother house of St. Lazare at Paris. From there he was transferred in 1654 to the seminary at Troyes. In that town two regiments of Irish soldiers in the French army, which had left Ireland in the Cromwellian exodus, were quartered at the time. With the soldiers, according to St. Vincent de Paul, were " one hundred women of good morals " and a large number of children, who were driven from their native country by reason of their religion. They were suffering much hardship, and the abbé MacEnery after his arrival at Troyes gave them much help. A few years later he was sent to Italy to fill the chair of theology in the newly-founded college of his Congregation at Genoa. The plague was raging in the town and, contracting the fever, he died there.

Several members of his family were officers of the Irish Brigade in France. Colonel Antony MacEnery of Dillon's regiment was killed at the battle of Chiary in 1701. The Stuart MSS. (Vol I) contain a letter from Queen Mary of Modena, widow of James II, to the Duke of Mantua (19 March 1705) thanking him for his kindness to the children and widow of Colonel MacEnery, " who was much valued by the late king for his courage and loyalty." Colonel MacEnery was married to Marie, daughter of the Count de Rantzau, and in 1728 the children were admitted into the ranks of the French nobility. One of them, a colonel in Dillon's regiment, was killed at Fontenoy in 1745, and another at Lauffelt two years later.

Mac-Geoghegan, Alexander, soldier. Son of Charles MacGeoghegan (who left Ireland in 1691 for France, where he became an officer in Berwick's regiment) and grandson of Charles MacGeoghegan of Sinan, Co. Westmeath (five of whose sons were killed in the Jacobite War in Ireland). Alexander became an officer in Berwick's regiment, in which he went through many strenuous campaigns in Europe. In 1733 he was at the siege and reduction of Kehl and, in the following year, at Philipsburg. In the War of the Austrian Succession he fought at Dettingen in 1743, after which he was transferred to Lally's regiment. He took part in the victory at Fontenoy in 1745, and subsequently gave his sword to Prince Charles Edward in Scotland where he was at the battle of Falkirk. Returning to France he was created a Chevalier of St. Louis and on the outbreak of the Seven Years War, accompanied General Count Thomas Lally to India. With him in the expedition were his two brothers, also officers.

Lally's corps—one died on the journey, while the other was killed
er at the siege of Fort St. Davis. In India Alexander had a distinguished
:ord. At Wandewash particularly in September 1759, where he com-
anded in the absence of Lally the Commander-in-Chief, he gained a
illiant victory over the English, which temporarily saved French power
India. Subsequent to his return to France Louis XV marked his appreci-
on of the services of this Irish officer by granting him the brevet of
lonel in 1774. Full of honours the distinguished soldier retired immedi-
:ly from active service after fifty years of campaigning, and died soon
:erwards.

Mac-Geoghegan, James, ecclesiastic and historian. Born in 1702 at
isneach, Co. Westmeath, he belonged to the branch of the family of his
me that resided at Rahue in the barony of Moycashel. He was educated
France and, after ordination as a priest, functioned for five years as
:aire in the parish of Poissy in the diocese of Chartres. In 1734 he was
:cted Provisor of the Collège des Lombards in Paris. The validity
his election was, however, disputed and he was obliged to withdraw
)m the college. Immediately afterwards he was appointed chaplain
the Hôtel-Dieu in the French capital; and in 1736 a letter from the
:hbishop of Tuam addresses him as almoner of Madame de Bignon,
French lady of rank. In the later years of his life he was attached to
e church of St. Meri at Paris, where he died on 30 March 1764.

The abbé MacGeoghegan was the author of *Histoire de l'Irlande,*
cienne et moderne in three volumes. The first and second volumes were
blished at Paris in 1758 and 1762 respectively, and the third volume
peared in 1763 with Amsterdam as the place of publication on the title-
ge. As the royal approbation for the first two volumes appears at the
d of the third, the place of publication (Amsterdam) is probably an
lication merely that an official approval was not given to the third
lume on account of the introduction into it of recent political matters.
ıe work is dedicated to the soldiers of the Irish Brigade, to which the
thor was a chaplain for some time. It was translated from French
o English in 1831 by Patrick O'Kelly of Athy, Co. Kildare, who lived
many years at Versailles as professor of languages. The abbé Mac-
:oghegan was also author of *Oeuvres mêlées en Latin, Anglois et Francois*
divers sujets en prose et vers. This work was dedicated to the Earl of
ancarty (Donough MacCarthy) and was published in 1730 at Hamburg,
ıere his lordship resided during his exile till his death there in 1734.

Mac-Guckin, William, oriental scholar &c. Born at Belfast on 12
ıgust 1801. Son of James MacGuckin the Belfast attorney and United
shman, whose career of infamy was only equalled by that of Leonard
acNally in Dublin. In the early years of the nineteenth century William

MacGuckin settled in France and devoted himself to oriental studies. He became a proficient Arabic scholar and lecturer in the school of oriental languages at Paris. He was elected member of the Institut de France and of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, and was created a Baron (Le Baron MacGuckin de Slane) by King Louis Philippe. He was author of several oriental works, e.g., " Le divan d'Amro'lkais, précédé de la vie de ce poète " (Paris 1837), " Le Texte arabe de la Géographie d'Abou'lfeda " (Paris 1837), " Notice sur Codama et ses secrets " (Paris 1862) &c.

In 1835 MacGuckin married Anne-Elise Sutton de Clonard (*See* SUTTON DE CLONARD) who belonged to an Irish family settled at Bordeaux. Of the issue of this marriage the eldest son Eugène-Michel entered the French naval service and became an admiral (Admiral MacGuckin de Slane). A daughter married M. Devereux, an Irishman residing in France, while the second son married the Countess Elie de la Villebrune. The family is still represented in France.

MAC-KENNA, PATRICK, soldier &c. A native of Maghera, Co. Down, where he was born *circa* 1765. In 1783 he went to the Irish College at Paris for his education. In 1791 when that institution, suspected as a royalist centre, was attacked by a band of revolutionaries, MacKenna with a pistol in each hand faced them as they approached the entrance and threatened to shoot at the first man who would advance further. The mob halted and MacKenna, addressing them, said that the students of the college were the victims of English oppression who were forced to come to France for their education. His speech was cheered and he became the hero of the revolutionaries, who quietly retired.

MacKenna was one of a group of students of the Irish College who, on the 8 September 1793, after a decree of the National Convention ordering the arrest of all British subjects in France, presented a memorial to that body deprecating its application to Irish students in Paris and expressing their sympathy with the Revolution. As a result a number of them, including MacKenna, were released and joined the French army. In December 1796 he accompanied Wolfe Tone in the expedition to Bantry Bay. In September 1798, as adjutant to Napper Tandy, he was on board the " Anacreon " which left France and arrived off the Donegal coast. On board too was George Orr the United Irishman who turned informer and in the English Public Record Office there is a letter from him to the Duke of Portland in which he gives details regarding MacKenna. " Patrick MacKenna of Maghera, Co. Down," he writes, " was ten or twelve years in the Irish College ; he has very much the air and demeanour of a Frenchman and speaks French as well as any Parisian ; he is about 5 feet 7 inches high, has black hair and beard and is strongly built." After the failure of the Irish Insurrection MacKenna embarked on one

the French privateers which were then inflicting severe blows on English nmerce. Retiring to Boulogne, he settled there as a shipbuilder and s very successful in that business.

A kinsman, the abbé Charles MacKenna, grandson of Major MacKenna The MacKenna ") who was killed in the Jacobite war in Ireland near aslough, Co. Monaghan, was ordained a priest in France. He was a aplain of the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy, celebrated Mass on the battle- ld and, returning later to Ireland, became parish priest of Donough the diocese of Clogher.

MAC-MAHON, ARTHUR, clergyman. A native of Co. Down, where became established as a Presbyterian minister at Kilrea, he was elected member of the Ulster Committee of the United Irish organisation. scaping to France before the outbreak of the Insurrection in 1798, he ined the Irish legion there and went through several campaigns with at corps. Though his name appears on the list of patriots proscribed the English Government, there seems to be little doubt that he was the English secret service and that at the same time and in a similar pacity he offered himself to the French Government. Thus in 1804 eneral Bernadotte (future king of Sweden) in a letter to Marshal Berthier rites: " I have the honour to inform you that two Irishmen residing Hamburg, M.M. Durnin and MacMahon, who had been liberally warded by the English government for coming to France to act as spies the Irish refugees and the views of the French government, have offered eir services to assist the designs of France in the cause of the United ishmen." With Turner the notorious informer he was in the intrigue malign the two patriots, Tone and Lewins, and oust them from their sition as envoys to France.

MacMahon was with the Irish Legion at Flushing in September 1809 hen its French garrison capitulated to an English force. He was brought prisoner of war to England, where he remained till the fall of Napoleon April 1814 when the French prisoners of war were released. He returned France in May 1814 and was ordered to join the third " régiment ranger ". He was killed fighting in the French ranks at Waterloo.

MAC-MAHON, EDME PATRICE (DUKE OF MAGENTA), Marshal of France. on of Maurice Francis MacMahon (*see* under that name) and Marie de araman, daughter of the Marquis de Caraman, and grandson of John aptist MacMahon (*see* following). He was born on 13 June 1808 at the âteau of Sully near Autun in Burgundy. Educated at the college of ouis-le-Grand at Paris, he passed in 1825 to the military academy of aint-Cyr. Two years later he entered the army and went through his st campaign in Algeria. He served almost continuously in that country

till 1854, displaying those military qualities that afterwards made him famous and earning rapid promotion till he reached the rank of general. In 1855 he was transferred to the army of the Crimea and immediately began to prepare a plan of attack on the Malakoff fort at Sebastopol. When the great fortress had been captured by him, his Commander-in-Chief sent him word that it had been mined by the Russians and advised him to withdraw. MacMahon's reply has become legendary—" J'y suis, J'y reste." He again distinguished himself in the Italian campaign of 1859, winning a brilliant victory at Magenta, which gave him a European reputation. The Emperor, congratulating him on having by his action saved the army and the empire, created him Marshal of France and Duke of Magenta. In September 1860 a deputation from Ireland, which was joined at Paris by the Irish patriot John Mitchel, presented him at Châlons with a sword of honour. In 1864 MacMahon was appointed governor-general of Algeria and, while acting as such, he proposed a scheme for establishing an Irish colony in that country. The project, however, fell through. On the outbreak of the war between France and Germany in 1870 he was given command of the First Army Corps. He was defeated at Woerth by an enemy force of overwhelming numbers, and later at Sedan the fate of France was decided when that city capitulated to the German forces. MacMahon was wounded there and taken unconscious from the field. When peace was established Thiers, head of the Provisional Government, entrusted him with the suppression of the Communist upheaval at Paris. In May 1873 he was elected President of the Republic, a post filled by him for six years. In 1879 he retired into private life and died on 17 October 1893. Universally esteemed as a soldier and patriot, he has been described as of a distinctively Irish type.

MacMahon married Elizabeth de la Croix de Castries, by whom he had several children. The eldest son Patrice married in 1896 the Princess Marguerite d'Orleans of the royal house of Bourbon. He died in 1927. The present representative of this branch of the family of MacMahon is Maurice, son of Patrice —he bears his grandfather's title, Duke of Magenta, and served for a time in the Air Force.

MACMAHON, JOHN BAPTIST, physician. Founder of the most illustrious line of the MacMahon family in France, he was grandfather of the famous Marshal. He was born at Limerick in 1715 and was the son of Patrick MacMahon and Margaret Sullivan of Bantry, Co. Cork (of the family of O'Sullivan Beare). Dispossessed of their property by reason of their loyalty to the Catholic and Stuart cause, his father's family, residing at Torrodile, Co. Limerick, emigrated to France after the Jacobite defeat in 1691. Besides John Baptist, Patrick MacMahon had two other sons, viz., Maurice Francis (*see* following) and Michael Stephen, a Dominican priest who became bishop of Killaloe and died in 1807.

Originally intended for the church, John Baptist MacMahon entered e medical school at Rheims—the archives of the university of that town ow since its foundation in 1550 the names of several MacMahons on s rolls as doctors. On receiving his degree in 1739 he settled in practice Autun in Burgundy, where among his patients was a wealthy heiress id her husband. On the latter's death he married the heiress, a niece the Marquis d'Eguilly, after whose death MacMahon and his wife herited the family estate in Burgundy. In August 1763, on proving is ancient Irish lineage, MacMahon was ennobled by Louis XV under ie title of Marquis d'Eguilly. (His full title was " Lord of Feenish, Inish, rovan, Ilan McGrath, of the Island Finus, of the Town of Reneagh, nd Marquis d'Eguilly "). By his marriage with the heiress, Charlotte le elin d'Eguilly, he had two sons, Charles Laure (Marquis), born in 1752, ho entered the French army, fought in the American War of Independence, as ambassador to the States of America and died in 1830; his second on was Maurice Francis (*see* following).

Several members of the MacMahon family, besides John Baptist, llowed the profession of medicine in France, e.g., John MacMahon cousin of John Baptist) who was professor of medicine in the Ecole Militaire from 1766 till his death in 1786; Mahon MacMahon, one f whose medical manuscripts is in the British Museum bearing the title, Do leabhraibh Mathghamhna MacMahon, Dochtuir leighis, daithle heithre mbliaghan deag a bParis firgholomtha na Frainnce 1728 " (" From he books of Mahon MacMahon, Doctor of Physic, after fourteen years study t Paris, a man of learning of France 1728."); and Patrick MacMahon (*see* MacMahon Patrick).

MacMahon, Maurice Francis (Count de Charney), soldier. Son f John Baptist MacMahon (Marquis d'Eguilly) and father of the great Marshal. He was born in 1754 at Autun in Burgundy. Adopting the nilitary profession he entered the cavalry regiment of Lauzun and, in hat corps, held the rank of colonel at the Revolution in 1789. In the follow- ng year, when the spirit of unrest was spreading through the army, a evolt of several regiments took place in August at Nancy. Riots took lace in which MacMahon was severely wounded; he was imprisoned y the populace and narrowly escaped being massacred. When the revolt vas crushed he returned to Paris, where the Duke of Orleans offered im the post of colonel-commander of his own regiment and where Marshal Rochambeau invited him on his staff. But, strongly royalist, MacMahon left France with the émigrés to join the army of the Princes eyond the frontier. He went through the campaign of 1792 and also erved in the Anglo-Dutch army up to 1795. Returning to France in 803 he lived quietly in his château, where he devoted himself to agri- ultural pursuits. At the first Bourbon Restoration in 1814 he resumed

his military career and received the rank of Maréchal de Camp. During The Hundred Days he tried to raise an insurrection in Burgundy in the name of Louis XVIII against Napoleon. As a result he was arrested and sent to Dijon for trial before a military commission, but the Restoration of 1815 set him at liberty. He died in 1831.

In 1792 MacMahon married Marie Riquet de Caraman (daughter of the Marquis de Caraman) by whom he had seventeen children. Four were sons, all of whom entered the army—the third son and sixteenth child was the future Marshal and President of France (*see* MACMAHON, EDMÉ PATRICE).

MACMAHON, PATRICK, physician. Kinsman of preceding and nephew of Dr. John O'Reilly, physician at the court of Louis XVI. He was a student of medicine in the Irish College, Paris, at the outbreak of the Revolution. When Danton's call to arms was sounded in 1792, young MacMahon had lain in hiding for some time, being under suspicion on account of his uncle's position at court. Through the help of an officer of a local volunteer battalion, with whom he was acquainted, he joined that corps as it was about to march off to join the Army of the Rhine. He was attached to the military hospitals and went through several campaigns in the Revolutionary army under Moreau. After the end of the Rhine campaign in 1796 he returned to Paris to complete his medical studies. Subsequent to qualification he acquired a high repute as a physician; he became medical attendant to the Irish College as well as a member of the Board for administering its affairs. Through the influence of Edward Lewins, who had been the United Irish envoy in Paris and who was an intimate friend of the Abbé de Frayssinous (Minister of Public Instruction under Charles X), MacMahon was also appointed in 1825 to the post of Chief Librarian to the medical school of Paris. Much regretted by his countrymen in the French capital, he died on 20 December 1836 and was buried in Montparnasse cemetery.

MACNAMARA, CLAUD MATTHEW, naval officer. Born in Co. Clare, he was the younger son of John MacNamara by Catherine St. John of Mortlestown, Co. Tipperary. (John MacNamara was one of eight members of his family who went to France after the Jacobite war in Ireland and who became officers in Clare's regiment of the Irish Brigade). As a child Claud MacNamara accompanied his parents to France in 1697, where they settled at Port Louis in Brittany and where in 1704 they obtained letters of nobility from James III. He entered the French naval service, in which he had a distinguished career and for his bravery was made a chevalier of St. Louis. He died in 1766. In April 1732 he married at Nantes Henriette Boucalt, by whom he had three sons—John Baptist, who was a page at the court of Louis XIV, entered the French navy and

s killed on board the " Theseus " in November 1759 ; Claud, also a val officer who was killed in action at Martinique in September 1759 ; d Henry Pantaleon (*see* following).

MacNamara, Henry (Pantaleon), naval officer. Son of preceding d nephew of John MacNamara, vice-admiral in the French naval vice (*see* following). He was born at Rochefort in January 1743, entered e French naval service and during his career took part in many engage- nts against the English and Dutch navies. In 1768 an action of his at chefort attracted much attention when he was the first to enter the wder magazine after an explosion. He received rapid promotion in the vice, ultimately reaching the rank of Vice-Admiral. In 1782 he was ated a Count by Louis XVI. In 1789 he was sent to Madras to carry t a treaty with Tippo-Sahib, ruler of Maisur. After successfully conclud- ; it he was returning to France when his vessel called on the way at the e de France (Mauritius) in June 1790. Here news of the Revolution d shortly before been greeted with enthusiasm. While in the island he ceived an order from the National Assembly at Paris to promulgate e new laws which the Revolution had established. As a zealous Royalist refused to do so, and his action was followed by a riot among the pulace of the island. He was arrested by them as an aristocrat and hanged 4 November 1790.

The title of Count was, as has been mentioned, conferred on MacNamara 1782 by Louis XVI. The letters-patent granting the title state : " Louis, the grace of God . . . . Being informed of the distinction with which e late John MacNamara, Vice-Admiral of our kingdom, Commander d Grand Knight of Our Order of St. Louis, and Commander of our rt of Rochefort, as well as his brother Claud Matthew MacNamara, ptain in our navy, have served in the navy and army of our most honour- le grandfather, and being ourselves aware of the services equally dis- guished which our well-beloved Henry Pantaleon MacNamara . . . s rendered for a length of time . . . knowing also their attachment d that of their ancestors to the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion . . we have resolved to adorn our well-beloved, the said Henry Pantaleon acNamara, with the title of Count of our kingdom . . . "

His nephew Albert Joseph MacNamara, who succeeded him in the le of Count, left France at the Revolution and joined the army of the inces beyond the frontier. He went through all the campaigns in the my of Condé and was several times wounded. Returning to France on e restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, he was in 1815 appointed governor the pages of the King's Court. In 1819 it is interesting to find him minated as one of his seconds by Richard Ferris (*see* Ferris, Richard) the proposed duel between the latter and Hely d'Oissel, Minister of blic Instruction. He was the last of the long and distinguished line of e MacNamaras in the French service. Richard Hayes

PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS: FOR AND AGAINST*

BY JOHN BITHREY, M.A.

Late Inspector of Secondary Schools, Department of Education

PUBLIC external examinations bring many evils in their train: but their radical vice is that they exalt the examination hall at the expense of the classroom and put the examiner on the pedestal which should be occupied by the teacher. The really important thing is the course of study done in the classroom. If this is good, examination results do not matter. A wise father who wants his son to be a mathematican will send the boy to a school where there is a good teacher of this subject. After five or six years with such a teacher the boy, if God has given him the brains, will be well on the road, whether he takes a public examination or not. When a teacher who knows and loves his subject can communicate his knowledge and love to his class, he should be free to choose his own syllabus, free to work it in his own way, free to study his pupils and to give them all the time they need. He must be free to let new ideas sink in and germinate; free to concentrate on the things that are really important, though not examinable, instead of on the things that "pay" in examinations. How much or how little can be well done depends on his pupils. He knows their weakness and their strength. He knows when it will be necessary to go slowly, to wait, to go back. Only he can set a paper that will do justice to them. None but he can set a paper that will bring the best out of them. But the public external examination system, with its rigid syllabus and its time limits, tends to rob the teacher of all those freedoms which are essential to the success of his work. He has to study the examiner instead of the pupil; he has to rush and hurry to finish the prescribed course in time; he may even have to cram into a week work over which he would prefer, in the interests of true educational progress, to spend a month. In fact his whole educational apple-cart is upset by the public examination and all its works and pomps. The general result is that a divorce between education and examination results comes into being, so that it is a commonplace to say that examination results are one thing and education something vastly different.

Thus, in effect, the public examination system tends to run counter to the processes of Nature. The farmer breaks the soil and sows the seed; but he must then wait for it to germinate; he must patiently tend upon the influence of the seasons. He must allow God's sun and wind and

**The Case for Examinations.* By J. L. Brereton. (Cambridge Press. 1944. 8s. 6d.).
Education in a World Adrift. By Sir Richard Livingstone. (Cambridge Press. 1943. 3s. 6d.).
The Norwood Report. (H. M. Stationery Office. 1943); *Spens Report* (1938).

n and frost and snow to play their part. He will not be forever pulling his plants to see how they are faring. Yet this, or something very like is what we do when we submit our pupils to frequent external tests. ;ain the external examination system tends to put all candidates through : same mill. It is as if a gardener were to try to force all his flowers to tulips, ignoring the fact that each plant has its own nature and must allowed to develop according to the law of its own being. The men 10 argue thus do not object to a compulsory course of study in any bject. What they do object to is leaving it to an outsider instead to the teacher to determine what subjects should be studied ; how ıch or how little can be done with success in a given time ; what questions ould be set in any given test.

Other evils are the element of luck, inseparable from all external tests, d the pain caused by failure and by the publicity sure to attend it. Many fine boy and girl has been demoralised by these and has left school th an inferiority complex which it has taken years to uproot. Yet ch candidates, in later life, often leave their more successful schoolmates : behind, because of their good sense, their business capacity, their ministrative or inventive genius, their gifts of character, their *savoir ire*, their power of leadership—qualities which were all present, at least germ, during school life, but which were undetected owing to the nitations of an all-dominating examination system.

Teachers and pupils both suffer under such a system. A teacher of assics, for example, may hold, as an essential and integral part of his ucational *credo* that verse composition must be taught ; that for real holarship it is indispensable ; that to neglect it is unthinkable—as ıthinkable, indeed, as to neglect prose composition and for precisely the me reason, because it brings the student into a more intimate and personal ntact with the author's message and leads therefore more certainly to e achievement of the ultimate aim, which is the formation of mind at comes from the reading of the great authors. When a boy tries stematically to write verse after the manner of Euripides or of Vergil, e works of these authors take on a new meaning for him, become in- sted with a new charm. His grasp of the text is strengthened ; his ıjoyment of the poetry is quickened ; his appreciation becomes more st. He learns to catch the music of their words in a way undreamed of fore. Incidentally, his sensitiveness to quantities, sure sign of the al classical scholar, becomes more delicately alert. Without this train- g such a teacher will feel that Latin and Greek poetry, the very flower of e literature, will remain a closed book for his pupils. It may happen, owever, that the external examination makes no allowance for this kind training, does not recognise it in any way. From the narrow examina- on point of view, therefore, it is waste of time and by persisting in it ıch a teacher endangers his examination results and may be penalised

for his professional integrity, since his pupils are almost certain to be beaten by those of a teacher who confines his attention to the things that "pay".

The pupil, too, suffers under such a system. Instead of forming a faculty for personal research and for independent judgment, he finds it more profitable to memorise parcels of information which he can neatly and readily reproduce on the examination day. If he has done a fine course in History and has begun to be keenly interested in it, he has to be keyed up to examination pitch in it, and the drudgery and strain involved will not improbably give him a permanent dislike of the subject. Teachers and pupils have often, as is well known, wrung their hands in despair because of the difficulty and the length of the prescribed syllabuses.

This, then, is the indictment that is filed against a system of public external examinations conducted by people who are not in touch with the teachers and who cannot know how much or how little a given class has been able to do with success. It is a formidable indictment, the most telling counts in which are that such a system (*a*) sets up a standard of values which the touch of life proves to be false, and (*b*) tends to displace the teacher who is, in reality, the very hub, the very lynch-pin of the educational machine.

Perhaps the best expression of modern thought on this whole subject is that of Sir Richard Livingstone. In his *Education in a World Adrift* he writes: "The examination system is a poison . . . . Examinations distort our attitude to education and conceal its purpose; for disinterestedness is the essence of all good education . . . . Any evils that might follow from the disappearance of examinations are nothing to the harm they do . . . . They encourage the neglect of the moral and spiritual factors, which are the most vital part of education . . . . Because of examinations education becomes a savage competitive system. It ceases to be education and becomes a road to a career . . . . It is impossible to get rid of examinations altogether. They are inevitable for university scholarships and for university degrees; but the most baneful of them all—the School Certificate—should be abolished."

Whether we agree with Sir Richard Livingstone or not, there can be no doubt about the reaction in England against the examination systems hitherto in vogue. The Spens Report of 1938, the Norwood Report of 1943 and the Education Act of 1944 are sufficient proof of this. Of the last mentioned one of the Parliamentary Secretaries said (early in 1944) that it was meant to rescue parents, children and teachers from the cruel tyranny and the ceaseless anxiety of examinations. For years the mistake had been made of educating children for examinations instead of for life: in future the process was to be reversed. Thus the Special Place examination taken by Primary School children between the ages of ten and twelve—its function was to open for successful candidates the door to the Secondary

hool—is abolished and other radical changes in the direction of greater erty for teacher and pupil are indicated.

To what is this great change of front due? Partly to the fact that chers are more highly qualified, more impatient of external control, re eager to be free; partly to the fact that English schools have had a feit of examinations; partly to the influence of men like Sir R. Livingne and to the fact that public confidence seems to have been shaken by investigations of Hartog and Valentine into the conduct of public aminations.[1] To these latter investigators examining bodies handed er—with doubtful wisdom—their candidates' answer books.[2] These oks were marked again—more than once—by different examiners refully chosen, highly qualified and of long experience—with results divergent, so inconsistent and so contradictory that the gravest doubts gan to be entertained about the reliability of the systems under instigation and about the validity of the results.

The Case for Examinations by J. L. Brereton, Assistant Secretary to e University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, a man who ares the responsibility for the marking of thousands of scripts each year, as meant, perhaps, to be at least in part an answer to Hartog and Valenne. From this point of view the book is not without value, though it nnot be regarded as decisive or as having said the last word. It is t an easy book to read and, being rather technical, it is not likely to be opular. It is not a book from which one rises replete with spiritual freshment, as one rises from Livingstone's *Education in a World Adrift*. here is little of the human side of education in it, little to touch the heart kindle the imagination. Mr. Brereton lacks Livingstone's persuasive narm of style. He is a scientist: diagrams, statistics, the spread of arks, percentiles, quartiles, averages—in these he revels. He favours achinery, co-ordination, unification and a central system of control so gid as to be intimidating to anyone whose dream of education is that it ould be a human and personal thing, as free as we can make it of forms, achinery and controls. His chief objection to the existing English ystem is that there is no adequate central machinery for the organised nification of syllabuses, text-books, teaching-methods, question-papers nd marking schemes. He would have all schools in given areas completely ripped by a central control (representing teachers, schools, universities, nspectors and Local Education officers). Such a system would, he inks, be completely satisfactory to all and completely fair to candidates, hose careers he would completely decide by examination results. He islikes the English Public Schools because he thinks them undemocratic. Ie dislikes the Norwood Report because it recommends a great reduction

[1] *Marks of Examiners* by Hartog and Rhodes (Macmillan) and *Reliability of Examinations* by C. W. Valentine (University of London Press).

[2] The official marks were erased and, consequently, did not come under review.

in the influence of examinations. Sir Richard Livingstone's doctrine that " the real aim of education is character-training," he calls " a barren doctrine " (p. 145). He speaks coldly of Greek as " a not utilisable skill," as if Greek was not the greatest school for the art of persuasive writing. He speaks coldly, if not slightingly, of the Board of Education's cardinal principle in Circular 849 that "examinations must follow the syllabus of the school and not *vice-versa*." He seems to favour the Subject Master system rather than the Form Master system, ignoring the home-work problem created when each of six or seven specialist teachers strives, in fierce competition, to get his own pound of flesh in the form of home-work from an unhappy pupil; and ignoring also the problems of grading that cannot be solved except under the Form Master system. He has, perhaps, a special grievance against Oxford University because, for the College Scholarship examination, it refuses to fix a syllabus, so that the examination is a kind of leap in the dark for teachers and candidates. He thinks that teachers ought to know more definitely what sort of paper is likely to be set. Oxford, on the other hand, wants them not to know, so that the papers will be real tests of intelligence, of self-reliance and of power to deal with new situations. It does not wish to set the kind of paper for which pupils can be mechanically prepared. For the purposes of its scholarships it is not concerned with the kind of work commonly done in the schools, but with the kind of thing an Oxford scholar should be capable of doing.

Mr. Brereton is genuinely concerned lest the disappearance of examinations—advocated by Livingstone, by the Spens Report and by the Norwood Report—may mean the reappearance of favouritism and of personal influence. He refuses to admit the Norwood Report's distinction between a qualifying examination (which does not place candidates in an order of merit) and a competitive examination, which does. He maintains that all examinations are necessarily competitive and, further, that examinations in the setting and marking of which teachers are consulted are, in effect, internal, not external, examinations. He seems unwilling to admit that there are some things which a written examination cannot measure—those essential qualities for which Banks and other Public Companies find it necessary to supplement the written test by means of interviews. But his *Case for Examinations* is, in many ways, a valuable book which should be read and pondered by all who have anything to do with the setting or marking of examination papers.

It will be seen therefore that, while Mr. Brereton is in favour of a more rigid system of examinational control, the Norwood Report is in favour of a larger liberty for teachers and pupils. Its idea is that each child—up to the age of 16—should be free to develop its special gifts unhampered by rules or regulations; free to take an examination or not; and, if it takes an examination, free to choose this subject or that, one

y or several, as it may itself prefer or as its teacher may advise. In
way it is hoped that natural gifts will break into leaf and flower and
t children will not leave school all of a type, like so many motor cars
of a factory. Better teachers, men and women of finer natures and
r qualifications, grander buildings, happier children, more money, an
pler air, more personal contacts with more highly-educated people ;
dom for the school, freedom for the teacher, above all freedom for
child—these are the ideas operative in the Norwood Report.

The objection of the Norwood Report to the existing English examiions—the School Certificate for pupils aged 16+ and the Higher
tificate for pupils aged 18+—is based on a very clear and definite
trine. This doctrine is that all school examinations should be qualify—*i.e.*, testifying to the completion of an educational course of a certain
ndard, not competitive. The existing Higher Certificate is sharply
npetitive, because valuable scholarships are awarded on its results.
e School Certificate is no less fiercely competitive, because exemptions
m Matriculation may be secured if the candidate is sufficiently good.
th examinations consequently expose the average candidate—throughthe year as well as in the examination hall—to a physical and nervous
ain which only the gifted ones can bear without serious injury, since
candidates, even the weaker ones, are tempted to try for the higher
ard. There is, of course, the further danger that teachers may be
npted to neglect the weaker pupils and concentrate on those who may
thought capable of winning the higher prize. But it is not merely
m competition that the Norwood Committee wants to protect pupils ;
wants to protect them also from compulsion of every kind. For this
rpose it actually proposes to make the School Certificate Examination
a subject examination—*i.e.*, one in which candidates may take or omit
y subject they please ; and (2) an internal examination—*i.e.*, one in
ich the papers are set and marked by the candidates' own teachers.
ie Committee thus endorses, in effect, the doctrine of Sir R. Livingstone
at " the influence of external examinations has increased, is increasing
d should be diminished and that interviews and school records should
used instead." This, however, is so radical a reform that its postponeent for some years is suggested.

The Norwood proposal to abolish compulsory subjects gives additional
erest to a discussion that recently figured in the *Sunday Times*. It
s started by Mr. David Brownlie in the issue of February 20, 1944.
e wrote saying that it was an urgent national need to kill the fetish of
mpulsory mathematics since mathematics were universally detested in
e schools and were responsible for more failures in the London Matricuion than any other subject. Thousands of excellent people were, he
id, unable to get degrees because a pass in Mathematics was compulsory
r Matriculation. The alleged importance of Mathematics—even for

Engineering, Science and Economics—he declared to be grossly exaggerated, while for Arts, Medicine, Theology and Law it was just fantastic nonsense. Euclid, in particular, he would like to see abolished.

An interesting correspondence followed on Mr. Brownlie's letter. Mr. Hope Jones, writing (Feb. 27) from Eton, agreed that Euclid, much pruned already, could be pruned still further with advantage; but it was not his experience that the modern boy detested Mathematics, unless the subject was taught in an unintelligent way. If it were made interesting by applications to Geography, Gunnery, Navigation and Astronomy, he found that boys instinctively and immediately realised its importance. He admitted to feeling no enthusiasm at all for Mathematics as a mental gymnastic; but he was of opinion that the subject did tend to teach habits of honest thought and of truthful statement, and so was a help to good citizenship. Mr. C. B. Fry, on the other hand, writing from Hamble, held that what was detested was not Mathematics, but having to think instead of merely reading and remembering. But Mr. Brownlie found his most remarkable champion in Mr. A. S. Neill, Head of a famous school, a mathematician by profession, a teacher of mathematics and a man who, when travelling by train, amuses himself for choice by doing mathematical problems instead of reading thrillers or solving crosswords. Writing from Festiniog, in the *Sunday Times* of March 5, 1944, Mr. Neill agrees that most pupils detest Mathematics. He holds, however, that the fault lies entirely, not with the subject itself, but with the external examinations and their crooked questions and problems. In his own school he leaves the subject altogether optional, with the result that the teacher's task is a very easy one since he has none but enthusiasts in his class. He is convinced, moreover, that if there were no external examination, many children who now hate Mathematics would learn to love them. The chief reason why his school of Summerhill is so successful—he has a long waiting list and a distinguished roll of past pupils—is (he thinks) that no external examinations of any kind are allowed to hamper the activities of either teacher or pupil. Yet his boys get good positions, pass with ease any examinations that may be necessary for this purpose, and " in uprightness, self-reliance, sincerity, grownupness " are far superior to the typical product of the examination-ridden school.

Professor Joad (*New Statesman*, March 11 and April 1), on the other hand, strongly favours both external examinations and compulsory subjects. He starts from the doctrine—which he attributes to Aristotle—that human nature is not naturally prone to knowledge and that the ordinary boy will simply not work without the stimulus of an external examination. The reference to Aristotle—it may be said *en passant*—surprises the present writer who was taught many years ago that one of the Stagirite's most famous *obiter dicta* was *φύσει ὀρέγεται τοῦ εἰδέναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος*—which, being interpreted, means " man is naturally eager to learn ".

ofessor Joad holds that the average boy needs the stimulus of competition
l that it is only through external examination he gets it, since only an
ernal examination will give him the chance of beating another boy.
d admits frankly that his own students soon abandon the lectures
t are not necessary for a degree. He holds, moreover, that external exami-
ions are essential for another reason—*viz.* that they alone are impartial.
sonal preferences do not count in them, nor can the examiner be
racted or repelled by things like dress, accent, manner, looks, carriage.
for making compulsory things that are detested, Joad declares this to
one of the most important of an educator's duties, if education is to be
preparation for life. In real life we have every day to do things we
est doing; and the sooner a boy acquires the technique of grappling
h and mastering unpleasant things, the better for his after career.
leed the very fact that a boy loathes Mathematics is a very good reason
compelling him to take them.

But Mr. Curry (*New Statesman*, March 18 and 25 and April 15),
admaster of Dartington Hall, is quite sure—like Mr. A. S. Neill—
t Professor Joad is wrong. Professor Whitehead distinctly teaches,
ording to Mr. Curry, that the acquirement of knowledge is the natural
rishment of the developing mind, so that a normal boy is as hungry
knowledge as he is for food and drink. The results, however, are
likely to be satisfactory unless the subjects for study are freely chosen
.e. chosen because the boy has a natural appetite for them. It is not
ht to assume, says Mr. Curry, that children prefer to be ignorant.
leed this assumption leads almost certainly to the use of methods which
ate a repugnance to learning. Nor will Mr. Curry admit the validity
Joad's argument about competition and the eagerness of one boy to get
better of another. This may be true, he says acutely, of pupils con-
ding for the high places; but the boy who is normally sixteenth in
class will get just no thrill at all from the prospect of being fourteenth,
ile the boy who is last may be discouraged, demoralised, and possibly
ured for life by his failure and its public announcement.

It is curious to note that, while in England the tide is running strongly
inst the tyranny of external examinations, in Ireland it seems to be
wing in their favour; the new Primary Leaving Certificate Examination,
npulsory for all pupils leaving a Primary School, may be termed a
aw that shows how the current is moving. There was, of course, a
ie when there were no public external examinations for Irish schools.
e late Father William Delany, S.J., *magnum et venerabile nomen*,
s perhaps the first to make a beginning when, as Rector of Tullabeg
m 1870 to 1880, he sent his senior pupils in for the London Matricula-
n. Then, at a somewhat later date, the senior students of Mungret
llege, chiefly ecclesiastical students, began to take the examinations of
Royal University, and many of them got their degrees before going to

theology in Rome or in other great centres. Then came the Board of Intermediate Education, with its results fees, its medals, its prizes, its exhibitions and its Preparatory, Junior, Middle and Senior Grade examinations, in preparing and standing for which many men prominent now (or recently) in Ireland laid the foundations of their fame. The country was a very hive of examination activity under that regime, and for teachers and pupils life was indeed a fitful fever. In 1908 an Inspection System was established for Secondary Schools, results were abolished, and in 1922 the Free State Government completely overhauled the Secondary system, reducing the number of examinations to two, abolishing prescribed texts, introducing capitation grants and (for recognised teachers) incremental salaries, replacing the old exhibitions by a number of first-class and second-class scholarships (to be awarded on the results of the Intermediate Certificate examination)—and, in a word, giving us the excellent system we still have in all essentials to-day. Under this system the evils of external examination are mitigated to the utmost by the fact that the question papers are set and the answer-books marked by Inspectors who are in close touch with the work of the schools. Little by little, Universities, Banks and other public bodies are coming to accept the Leaving Certificate examinations in lieu of their own Entrance tests—so that, during the last two years of the Secondary School period, pupils and teachers are able to concentrate on one course instead of trying, as before, to prepare for a number of examinations based on different syllabuses and of varying standards. Thus there is no trace in Ireland of that surfeit with examinations which is so noticeable in England, nor has public confidence ever been shaken here, as it seems to have been shaken in England. On the contrary, Heads of Colleges have often expressed surprise at finding how closely the examination results correspond with the order of merit as this is known to the school.

As for the abolition of external examinations, this is not likely. Harmful though they be, we have nothing to put in their place. Their results are, it is true, only approximately correct, but do we ever anywhere achieve more than a rough approximation to what is right and just in human affairs? They provide, after all, the only impartial guarantee of a sound education and of fitness for more advanced studies. Their results are unaffected by prejudice or favour. They generate a competition between school and school that raises the standard of all schools. The certificates are accepted everywhere without question. The good teacher is still free, in spite of them, to provide by his personal influence, his professional integrity and the quality of his teaching the intellectual stimulus which makes educational work such a delight. The question papers can be made to test intelligence, good sense, judgment, taste and reading, so that bad teaching and mere cramming will reap no undue reward.

JOHN BITHREY

FEODOR DOSTOEVSKY: A TROUBLED PROPHET

BY TERENCE SMITH

O describe Dostoevsky as a prophet—and it is fashionable to do so nowadays*—is true enough but somewhat misleading. For tever affinities may exist between the Russian novelist and the seers he Old Testament, they are only partial. Too many students of toevsky's work, philosophers and critics, carried away by the apocaic power of his novels, have been inclined to forget that he was in first place a professional novelist and, by endowment, a master of the tive imagination. It may be well, therefore, to remind ourselves at outset that here was an artist of the first order, of whose agonized re for artistic perfection we have abundant evidence in his corresdence. Of his own technical methods he was a merciless critic. He ged for the time and freedom denied him by the harassing exigencies is life, and without which he feared he could never attain the consummate -expression that is the dearest wish of every great artist. In his own nirably humble words, his aim was simply " to make plain all that I y in my heart and imagination."

Nevertheless, since his influence has extended far beyond the bounds iterary art and has imparted a new and vital impetus to later developnts in thought and psychology, it is sufficiently clear that there is in stoevsky's genius a dynamic element which overflows the imaginative reation of life and involves *directly* the issues of human destiny. His gious preoccupations, in particular, are, as it were, incarnated in the els with so much boldness and depth that it is perhaps no wonder that ny have forgotten the novelist in contemplating the sage.

There can be little doubt that this obession with religious realities lue primarily to an unique experience in Dostoevsky's life. In 1849, en the novelist was only twenty-six, he was arrested for his part—ht though it was—in subversive socialist activities, and together with core of other intellectuals, similarly charged, he was condemned to th. The men had been taken to the scaffold and were awaiting cution, when at the last moment they were reprieved by order of the ar Nicholas II. It is easy to understand the lasting impact of such an erience, where one faces death as no soldier under fire, as no person rtally stricken ever quite faces it—not assuredly with such relentless tainty. The effect on Dostoevsky was to project his spirit, for ever

* Vide *Three Russian Prophets* by Nicholas Zernov (S. C. M. Press. 1944. 8/6) *Prophets for a Day of Judgement* by A. E. Baker (Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1944. 4/6).

after, into the intense and harrowing sphere of ultimate realities. In one of his novels a character speculates on the feelings of a condemned man who has been led to the scaffold. "It's strange that people rarely faint at these last moments," he says. "On the contrary, the brain is extraordinarily alive and must be working at a tremendous rate—at a tremendous rate, like a machine in full speed. I fancy that there is a continual throbbing of ideas of all sorts . . ." As we read his mature novels, we may well ask ourselves if that giant brain ever again relapsed into a normal tempo.

Up to then there had been little outwardly abnormal in Dostoevsky's life. Son of a military doctor, Feodor was born in Moscow in 1821 and grew up in an atmosphere of hardly disguised poverty. In 1837 he enrolled as a student in the St. Petersburg School of Engineering and seems to have pursued his studies in a barely interested fashion. His first novel, *Poor People*, published in 1846, was an immediate success, though its interest now is almost entirely biographical. Following the commutation of his death sentence three years later, he was banished to Siberia with a penalty of four years hard labour. His life there among common criminals is memorably described in his *House of the Dead* (1861). It was in prison that he commenced his life-long study of the New Testament. There, too, he was first afflicted by a violent form of epilepsy from which he suffered for the rest of his life. For another six years he served as a private soldier in a disciplinary battalion, before he was allowed to return to Russia. Taking up journalism, he was for a short time successful, but later met with heavy reverses. Fate dealt other blows when in 1864 there occurred the deaths of his much-loved brother Mihail, and of the woman whom he had married during his latter years in Siberia. It was in order to escape the danger of imprisonment for his own and his brother's debts that Dostoevsky lived abroad during the years 1865-71. In 1867 he married his second wife, Anna Snitkina, a true helpmate, who did much to assist him in winning back financial security. From 1872, when he returned to Russia, to his death nine years later, Dostoevsky was enabled to live his life in dignified circumstances amid the ever-growing esteem of his fellow-countrymen.

For the inward aspects of Dostoevsky's life—and, in the final analysis, it is they alone which matter—one turns to the novels. Here, if we seek light on the man *as apart from his enigma*, we shall find it in excess; for Dostoevsky poured himself into his work as perhaps no writer has ever done. It is on this account that we remark the poverty of external social record by which these novels are unique among world masterpieces—being nearer almost to poetry or music in their profound and passionate self-expression. A strange world opens before us, where all that happens is but an outer reverberation of the spirit's working and where, great realist though he be, we are led to observe nothing save what matches a state of

d. Thus his depiction of violence—and it is often extreme—is never ningless, but impresses even those whom it repels as the dynamic osure of psychic ills.

He is a writer of whose *presence* we are always aware as we read the els. We learn to mark his goodness, his humility, his quivering pity, joyous response to every signal of God's presence in the universe. with all this light there are deep shadows. What Wordsworth called e burden of the mystery " is in Dostoevsky unutterably weighed down his profound knowledge of almost every form of human suffering, radation and evil. And how disturbing, how sinister even, is the stant recurrence in the minds of his characters of a sort of abysmal rust which seems, in its most aggravated manifestations, like a breath he Old Chaos ! It is this which in Dostoevsky's stories so frequently ons the relations between man and man, turns to bitterness all self- muning, and covers over, as with heavy clouds, the Face of God.

The insistence, the personal emphasis, of this affrighting quality es no doubt that here again we are confronted by an aspect of the er himself. Even in *The Brothers Karamazov* (1879), with its joyous gnition of an eternal harmony, the opposing principle of negation is sented with such power that it is impossible not to suspect that he ained in some degree divided to the end. It is true, of course, that great novel is a triumphant affirmation of Christ's teaching, as it is that the sceptical Ivan Karamazov's non-acceptance is itself divided, he is half on the side of the saintly ones, Father Zossima and Alyosha. this in no way diminishes the potency of Ivan's attitude. Rather, by easing in vulnerability, it becomes something strangely like truth, a aphysic purged of sophistry, one that reflects, in its torn conscious- s, the complexities of existence.

At the same time it is notable that, of the three brothers in stoevsky's last novel, it is the believer, Alyosha, whom the writer cifically names as his hero. In that section of the book entitled " Pro Contra," we find Alyosha utterly unshaken by Ivan's arguments, but ering on his brother's behalf, while Ivan derives hope and strength, which he hardly confesses, from the sensitive youth's singleness of it. It is to Alyosha that he unfolds his allegorical tale of " The Grand uisitor," regarded by some critics as the crowning achievement of stoevsky's dialectic. Before attempting to describe this chapter, vever, it is necessary to speak of the novelist's prejudiced misconception he Catholic Church. It was a deficiency like the absence of classicism his work—how lacking he is in the classical sense of beauty !—and st be attributed to the same cause : the deeply-rooted, if intermittent, vophilism which is so marked a strain of Dostoevsky's nature. Never- ess, it would be a pity if Catholic readers should be turned from " The nd Inquisitor " by his regrettable misconception, since there is so

much else in this chapter of the deepest psychological, and indeed prophetic, truth. For here we find an astonishing " pre-view " of philosophies and systems familiarly known to us as totalitarian.

In this allegory it is supposed that the Saviour has returned to the earth after an interval of fifteen hundred years. Seville is the scene of the New Advent. Christ is arrested and cast into prison by order of the Grand Inquisitor, who later visits Him in His cell. Addressing Our Lord, Who remains silent, the Inquisitor tells Him that he knows well Who He is, that he loves His truth, but that he considers it unworkable for the mass of humanity. " Instead of taking possession of man's freedom," he says, " Thou didst increase it and burdened the spiritual kingdom of mankind with its sufferings forever." Christ's teaching, he says, is only for the Elect, among whom the Inquisitor had once on a time wished to win his place, until his pity for man had induced him to renounce the call and to toil instead in adapting a " corrected " version of Christ's message. By this man would be relieved of great spiritual burdens and would be guided safely, in the only way to which he considers they are suited, the way of happiness and illusion. The Inquisitor's monologue ends thus :—

" Who scattered the flock and sent it astray on unknown paths? But the flock will come together again and will submit once more, and then it will be once for all. Then we shall give them the quiet humble happiness of weak creatures such as they are by nature. . . . The most painful secrets of their conscience, all, they will bring to us, and we shall have an answer for all. And they will be glad to believe our answer, for it will save them from the great anxiety and terrible agony they endure at present in making a free decision for themselves. And all will be happy, all the millions of creatures, except the hundred thousand who rule over them and who have taken upon themselves the curse of the knowledge of good and evil."

It is only, in Dostoevsky's view, through the free choice between good and evil that the spirit develops. The narrator in *Notes from Underground* (1864) pours scorn on those over-reaching philanthropists who would re-shape the world in " man's interests ". " When in all these thousands of years has there been a time when man has acted *only* from his own interests ? " The " sensible " solution is not the only one. Peril, too, is one of man's deepest needs. And he can never relinquish his free access to that troubled region where the soul gains difficult reward and inevitable dismay. Divine or demonic, the sources of man's life are beyond the sounding of any plummet—or doctrinaire. Dmitri Karamazov stumbles on this truth, when he cries out : " The awful thing is that beauty is mysterious as well as terrible. God and the devil are fighting there, and the battlefield is the heart of man."

How inevitable that Dostoevsky should have been regarded by many

and is even to this day—as a reactionary! In that most powerful vel *The Possessed* (1871) he was dauntless enough to trample on progress ien progress trampled on Christ. Where, we ask, and he asks, as we tch the strivings of these hapless revolutionaries, where is the new order iich they seek with such sterile persistency, but in the ever-to-be-newed order of Christ? And what is their "progress" without rist but a warring confusion of unrelated aims and tendencies? One members the dream of Raskolnikov in *Crime and Punishment* (1866) :—

"Some new sorts of microbes were attacking the bodies of men, t these microbes were endowed with intelligence and will. Men attacked them became at once mad and furious. But never had men considered emselves so intellectual and so completely in possession of the truth these sufferers, and never had they considered their decisions, their ientific conclusions, their moral convictions so infallible. Whole villages, nole towns and peoples went mad from the infection. All were excited d did not understand one another. . . . They did not know how to dge and could not agree what to consider evil and what good; they d not know whom to blame, whom to justify. Men killed each other a sort of senseless spite. . . . The alarm bell was ringing all day long the towns; men rushed together, but why they were summoned and ho was summoning them no one knew. . . . They met in groups, greed on something, swore to keep together, but at once began on some-ing quite different from what they had proposed. They accused one nother, fought and killed each other. There were conflagrations and mine. All men and all things were involved in destruction."

Verhovensky, the revolutionary organizer in *The Possessed*, realizes ie necessity of order and unanimity in his ranks. This he proposes to chieve through an unspeakable abasement of human dignity: "And ie most important force of all—the cement that holds everything to-ether—is their being ashamed of having an opinion of their own. That a force! And whose work is it, whose precious achievement is it, that ot one idea of their own is left in their heads! They think originality disgrace."

May we end this survey, as we have begun it, by a reminder that ostoevsky was, first and foremost, not a teacher but a creative artist. is certainly to the artist that students pay an unconscious tribute when, eking for his thought, they turn not to the *Journal of an Author** (1873-) where the writer elaborates his first-hand ideas on many topics, but the novels, to the inspired gabbling and matchless harangues of his nforgettable characters. It was, indeed, through no conscious flow of rene thought but through the creation—one might almost say, through ie agency—of suffering people that Dostoevsky brought to light his ost important ideas and divinations. They are the expression of all

* In doing so, in his illuminating study, M. Zernov is the exception.

that is deepest in this clairvoyant, if sometimes troubled, genius, the final embodiment of his dreams and desires, obsessions, hopes and fears. This is not to deny that they are firmly based on physical reality. No author's senses were more vividly alive to sights and sounds and smells. But Dostoevsky's people and scenes are floodlit, so to speak, in an incomparably intense degree, by a ray of his own vision.

Here, indeed, is the true surrealism! When Ippolit, the dying student in *The Idiot* (1868), tells how the sinister Rogoshin appeared to him in a nightmare, it is typical that from his description the characteristics of the latter in his oppressive dream seem only a little more heightened than in reality. Again, when the dead Father Zossima " returns " in a dream to comfort his disconsolate disciple, Alyosha Karamazov, hardly are we astonished by the radiance which shines from " the little thin old man with tiny wrinkles on his face, joyful and laughing softly ". It has always been native to him. It is just as it should be, since he is unchanged in kind, that he appears now in " the same dress that he had worn yesterday, sitting with them, with the visitors gathered about him ".

In Dostoevsky's subjective colouring, which makes his work so rich in *values*, there is a lesson, too: that life is never moulded by "scientific truth". It is in *our* keeping; darkened—how often!—by our doubt, our hatred, our despair; saved and transfigured by the love that is brave enough to venture outwards from the human heart.

TERENCE SMITH

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY P. G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART VI.—WADERS

Waders constitute a very large group of birds with many osteological
l other characters, which however are by no means obvious to the
linary watcher. But from their general field-characteristics waders
n usually be recognised. They are walking or running birds of small
medium size, often with rather long legs. They are birds of the open
ıntry and terrestrial in habits, though a few regularly resort to woods
day and some breed in wooded districts and perch freely on trees
the breeding season. Nearly all are more or less closely associated
h water and wet places and are characteristic birds of marshes and
sea-shore. While feeding they often wade through shallow water,
l hence they are called Waders. A few however, such as the Lapwing
l Golden Plover, regularly frequent dry ground. Amongst the most
portant field-characters are the notes uttered both on the wing and
rest and the pattern of the wings, back and tail in flight. The eggs
spotted and generally four in number. Some waders are resident,
ny are winter migrants and many also birds of passage, generally
re frequent in autumn than in spring.

THE BAR-TAILED GODWIT.—Though it is mostly a bird of the sea-shore
l rare inland, we often meet with the Bar-tailed Godwit at a considerable
tance from the sea in the neighbourhood of tidal rivers. As it breeds
the far north of Europe and of Siberian Asia to Alaska, it is naturally
ent during the nesting season, when however a few non-breeding
ds may be occasionally met with. But from the middle of August
the end of April it is a common bird on the sea-coast and estuaries
l on the water meadows near tidal rivers. I have frequently seen it
considerable numbers feeding in marsh land some miles from the
annon below Limerick. But it is near the sea and open estuaries
ıt we find, at times during the winter, enormous flocks which rise
o the air and perform with military precision those wonderful evolutions
characteristic of smaller waders. They circle round, rising and falling
unison, bunch into a dense globe and spread out in an attenuated line
f a mile long, rippling like a waved carpet from end to end. As they
n and twist they gleam white in the winter sun, only at the next moment
disappear almost from view when all simultaneously present their
nbre coloured backs to the watcher. It is all very beautiful and

wonderful. And when about to alight they often " nose-dive " or " side-slip " in a seemingly erratic manner, and yet they make an orderly landing, dropping like the spray from some great fountain, to stand in serried ranks along the water's edge.

The Bar-tailed Godwit is easy to recognise. It is larger than the Redshank and smaller than the Curlew, with a long, straight or slightly uptilted bill. It is of a light brown-grey plumage, with dull white rump and darker tail showing more or less distinct barring of brown and dirty white. In its summer plumage, in which it is not often seen in this country, the whole head, neck and underparts of the male are chestnut red, while the female is much duller and browner. In autumn the young birds of the year have the breast buff and more or less mottled and streaked.

During its stay with us the Bar-tailed Godwit is not a noisy bird. Individuals and small parties often rise from the ground without uttering any note. But flocks are more vocal and are often identified, before being seen, by their distinctive, somewhat gutteral " kirruc, kirruc, ", which some authors describe as " barking ". On its breeding ground it is said to be rather noisy, but with some quite musical notes.

THE BLACK-TAILED GODWIT.—This species is larger than the Bar-tailed Godwit, with longer legs which give it at rest a taller and more upstanding appearance. But in the field, except where the two birds are present together for comparison, size alone is a deceptive character. In flight, however, the Black-tailed Godwit is at once indentified by its broad white wing-bar and by its long legs projecting conspicuously beyond the tail. Its long bill is straight or only slightly upturned. And as it flies away, it is also distinguished by its pure white tail with a broad terminal band of black. In winter plumage its back is brownish-grey, darker and more uniform than the Bar-tailed Godwit's, while most of the under-parts are lighter greyish instead of mainly white. In summer the chestnut is duller and does not extend much beyond the upper breast, while the lower breast and flanks are mainly white with blackish markings. The female is usually duller than the male.

In this country the Black-tailed Godwit is much less numerous than the smaller species and tends to be more of a bird of passage, seen chiefly in spring and autumn and more rarely in the winter months. But it is more often seen inland and more often in summer plumage. In England of late it has increased in numbers, while here it would appear to have become more common and wide-spread during the present century. Ussher and Warren (1900) describe it as " an occasional visitant chiefly in August and the autumn months ". But it would seem now to be a regular visitor in spring. From April to July I have seen it in the Counties of Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford and Limerick, while in Co. Mayo Major Ruttledge reports that during the past spring he frequently saw small

arties in summer plumage. A large flock was reported from Armagh n April 1928. Again in autumn the flocks are now larger. On Loughnore, near Limerick, I have frequently seen considerable numbers, and n August and September 1938, when I counted the birds, they ranged om flocks of 100 to about 150. Even in winter it is sometimes found n some numbers. In Co. Cork, in the winters of 1938–39 and 1939–40, ocks of up to 120 were observed.

The Black-tailed Godwit breeds in many countries in Europe, mostly outh of the Baltic, and in parts of Asia. I have seen the bird in its anctuary nesting-ground in the polder of the island of Texel, one of ne Frisian Islands, where it breeds in large numbers. There, unlike ne silent, wary bird we meet with in this country, it proved to be very oisy and very tame. One male, which had young to defend, stood on gate-post, protesting loudly against the intrusion, and refused to budge ntil we could almost touch it. The Dutch name the bird " Grutto " rom one of its musical nesting notes, and everywhere on the island we ould hear the " grutto " of passing Godwits.

Formerly, up to 1829, this Godwit nested in Yorkshire and in the ens of Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire, but there is no evidence hat it ever bred in Ireland. Its disappearance as a nesting species from ngland is said to be largely due to the draining of the fens, while a contributory cause was, no doubt, the annual toll taken of the bird for food. or, like the Quail, it had the misfortune of being good for the table. ndeed it has been suggested that it got its name from this fact and that odwit is merely a corruption of " Good-to-eat". However that may e, it was commonly killed or captured alive for food. Watters writes: We have seen numbers of these beautiful birds cribbed and confined n the London markets, where crowded together in cages they were fattened or the table " (*Birds of Ireland*). This practice has happily been discontinued, but the increasing numbers in these islands would more probably e due to an overflow from the continent, especially from Holland, where uring the breeding season they are strictly preserved in Bird Sanctuaries. n England, too, where since 1937 occasional pairs have nested, the bird s making an effort to establish itself once more as a breeding species. nd if it continues to increase in this country, we may hope that it will lso remain to breed, as some other waders and ducks have done in the ast, especially since the beginning of the century.

THE CURLEW.—The Curlew, the largest and the best known of the vaders, is easily recognised by its streaky brown plumage and by its ong, strongly curved bill. On the ground, except when feeding, it tands upright on long legs. Its flight is strong and purposeful and, hough its wing-beats appear slow, its speed is considerable. When ravelling for any distance it often goes in flocks and flies either in chevron ormation or in irregular lines.

Its best known characteristic is its loud, musical, though somewhat melancholy, call " Koorlee " or " Coorlieu " from which it gets its name. It is at all times a noisy bird, with a great variety of notes, including a harsh barking and a squealing bleat. But its voice is most pleasing in what is called its " bubbling song," which begins with a succession of low, drawn-out liquid notes, rises to a loud and high-pitched trill, and sinks finally to the low register of the opening bars. This is the common song on the breeding ground, though it may also be heard on the sea-shore in autumn and winter and even at night.

The Curlew is the most common and wide-spread of the waders, being found not only near the coast but also, though in less numbers, inland where it feeds in rough pastures, in swamps and by rivers and lakes. In spring, when the main body retire to their breeding grounds, many non-breeding birds remain by the sea. After the nesting season old and young come down to the coast or spread through the country in scattered parties. At this time, too, there is an immigration on a vast scale of Curlew from overseas. Fortunately, now that the practice of ringing birds has been in operation in many European countries since the early years of the century, we have evidence of where most of these immigrants come from. And here, perhaps, it may be well to mention what " ringing " or " banding," as it is called in the United States, means. It consists in slipping on one of a bird's legs a light aluminium ring on which a number and an address are inscribed. A register of the main facts connected with the ringing, such as the place and date and whether the bird is young or adult, is kept at the address indicated on the ring. These facts are then available to anyone who may afterwards find a ringed bird.

Birds are ringed either as nestlings or as adults. Since the mortality during their first year of life is very great in most species of birds, it has been found that the ringing of adults gives better results. The adult smaller birds are easily trapped, and ducks are taken in decoys for the purpose. But Curlew do not readily lend themselves to adult ringing: they are too wary to catch and too difficult to handle. Hence they are generally ringed soon after hatching or at any rate before they are able to fly. Now from an analysis of the recoveries it is clear that large numbers of our immigrant Curlews come from Scotland and northern England. Indeed it has been established that, from mid-July to the end of August, there is a general exodus of Curlew from the north British breeding grounds and that, while a small percentage is almost sedentary, the majority of the migrants travel west or south-west and winter in Ireland. There is also in autumn a migratory movement of Curlew from Finland, the Baltic Islands, southern Sweden and Holland down the east coast of England, and many of these continental birds cross over to winter in Ireland. Of course it had long been known that most of the hosts of Curlew seen round our shores in autumn and winter were migrants,

ıt it is only since the ringing systems began to show results that it can ith any certainty be stated from what country they came. The spring ıigration of these foreign visitors, sometimes beginning in February, most strongly marked from the middle to the end of March and fades ıt in the first week of April. The birds travel northward not only by ıe coast lines but by inland routes, making a very noisy passage. In imerick I have frequently heard, at all hours of the night, migrating urlew passing up the Shannon, one of their favourite routes. Many :ach the north coast, from which they depart for their nesting grounds.

The Curlew nests in all the provinces of Ireland, in meadows and ɔugh pastures, in marshes and bogs and on mountains. Generally the ests are far apart, but sometimes the birds assemble in loose colonies ı suitable grounds. I have seen one such colony in a heather covered ɔg in Leix and another on the Dublin Mountains, where from six to a ɔzen pairs nested in a restricted area. In these places the air was resonant ith " bubbling " Curlews, and the impression was produced that there ere hundreds of birds present until a rough count dispelled the illusion. he nest is a hollow in the ground, lined with grasses and sheltered by egetation in meadows and marshes but more exposed on the mountains. formally there are four, occasionally only three, large, slightly glossy gs of a greenish olive or brownish colour. Incubation period is 29 or ɔ days. The young leave the nest as soon as they are dry and are tended y both parents for some weeks until they are able to fend for themselves.

THE WHIMBREL.—The Whimbrel, in its habits and haunts and general ɔpearance, is very like the Curlew, with which indeed it is often con- ɔunded. But it is a smaller bird with a relatively shorter bill, and it as on its crown a distinctive pattern consisting of two broad, dark bands ivided by a narrow pale streak. And since it is much tamer and more ɔproachable than the Curlew, this pattern can generally be seen, making lentification easy. In flight it is more often recognised by its characteristic ɔte which is a rapid tittering, in even time and with even emphasis, ıd which is fairly rendered by the syllables " titti-titti-titti-tit." Being noisy bird, like the Curlew, it usually manifests its presence by its cry, hich is heard both by day and night and even over cities.

The Whimbrel is a typical bird-of-passage or passage migrant, visiting ıis country twice in the year as it passes through on its way to and from s northern nesting grounds. In spring it appears sporadically towards ıe end of April, but it is in May that it is seen in greatest numbers, and ence it gets its other name " The May-bird ". Single birds or small arties feed round the coasts and through most of the country, especially y rivers and lakes. I have counted as many as fifty in a water meadow ear the Shannon. Some birds continue to arrive up to the second eek of June and quickly pass northward. Then towards the end of

July the return journey begins, so that the two migrations almost overlap. It is thought that these early returns are of birds that failed to breed. Many arrive back in August and September, but they are never so numerous as they were in their May passage northwards. Some are still on the Dublin coast in October. On November 12th 1939, Mr. P. E. Dunn and I put up a single bird on the west pier at Dun Laoghaire, while in the winter of 1943–44 Major Ruttledge reported a Whimbrel from the west of Ireland. But these are unusual dates, and a wintering Whimbrel, like a wintering Corncrake, is probably due to some accident which rendered the bird incapable of the long migratory flight.

The spring migration of the Whimbrel is much more leisurely than the return passage in autumn. For three weeks in May the birds linger here and explore every bay and island, every river and lake of the country. They seem to be in no hurry to pass on. Perhaps they are waiting until " they feel in their bones " that the winter snows have melted and that the tundra in the far north is ready to receive them. When they finally set out, a few remain to nest in the Orkneys and Shetlands, many in Iceland and the Faeroes ; the majority travel to northern Scandinavia, northern Russia and Siberia, while some pass on to Greenland. They arrive in the Arctic regions just as the snows have melted and the long dark winter passes suddenly, without any intervening spring, into the short, ten weeks', Arctic summer which is dominated by the " Midnight Sun ". There is no time to lose ; they must have their young on the wing southwards before the first snows begin to fall. With feverish activity they make a hollow in the grass or heath for a nest, sparingly line it and lay their eggs. Incubation begins before the clutch of four is complete, and in about 24 days the chicks hatch and leave the nest. If misfortune overtake the eggs or the young, there is no time for a second brood and the pair at once take wing southward. The young mature quickly under the influence of the ceaseless sunlight and the abundance of food which is supplied by their parents during the 24 hours of daylight. In less than a week they sprout their flight feathers, in a fortnight they are attempting to fly, and after another week they are impatient to be off. Without waiting for their parents to complete their moult, they set out, without a guide, on their long trek.

In their flight southward some Whimbrel pass through Europe and the coasts of western Asia to the shores of the Indian Ocean west of India and Ceylon. Others travel in a westerly route by the Atlantic islands and coasts to southern Africa. The birds which pass through Ireland belong to this migratory line. Many winter in the south and east coasts of Africa, especially in the Mozambique Channel where they have abundant feeding in the mangrove swamps, and they spread out to Madagascar, Mauritius, Rodriguez, the Comoro Islands and the Seychelles. Strenuous must be the lives of the Whimbrel to accomplish such epic flights twice

he year, and we must marvel at the power of endurance required an Odyssey such as theirs. When we see them drowsing lazily by Irish river or lake, or probing for a meal in the mud or sand, we find ard to realise that they are capable of covering something like 15,000 es in their annual migrations.

THE ESKIMO CURLEW.—A native of America, the Eskimo Curlew has us the melancholy interest that it has been the most recent bird to ome extinct—joining the ranks of the Dodo, the Great Auk, the senger Pigeon and the Labrador Duck. Like some other American ds which have from time to time reached our shores, either having sed their bearings on migration or having been forced across the antic by the fury of the elements, the Eskimo Curlew occurred once Ireland. On October 21st 1870, the dead bird was purchased in Dublin market—having been, it is believed, shot in Co. Sligo. For eral days it was exposed for sale in a poulterer's shop and was finally ight for six-pence. It is now a specimen in the National Museum. The Eskimo Curlew was not unlike the Whimbrel, but was smaller, h a shorter bill and with uniformly dark primary wing feathers without barrings. It bred in numbers in the Arctic regions of America, m Northern Mackenzie to North-western Alaska. After the nesting son it migrated south through the Eastern United States and then sea to South America. It wintered from the Galapagos Islands and ile to Brazil and in Argentina and Patagonia.

The last Eskimo Curlew was obtained in the Argentine on January 11th 5, though since then there have been a few possible sight records. or to 1885 it rivalled the Passenger Pigeon in numbers. At that time many as 2,000 were reported killed in a single day. It was a favourite ne-bird in South America, especially in the Argentine, and in sadly uced numbers it returned in spring to its breeding grounds in Canada. travelled up the Mississippi Valley, where the greatest carnage of all k place and where it was no uncommon experience to shoot a wagon d in a day. What led to its undoing was that the Eskimo Curlew s so tame and unsuspicious. It was slaughtered in appalling numbers, l the supply was so extraordinarily abundant that it appeared to be xhaustible. And yet the end came quickly, as happens to birds when ce reduced below a certain dangerous level.

BARTRAM'S SANDPIPER.—Another American wader which has three times ssed the Atlantic to Ireland is Bartram's Sandpiper. Mr. Joseph Dunn Dublin received a specimen in the autumn of 1885 among wild fowl m Ballinasloe. A second was shot at Newcestown, Co. Cork, on ptember 4th 1894, while the third was shot in Co. Leitrim, probably 1901.

P. G. KENNEDY

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LXXI

Elegy on Mág Shamhradháin .i. Thomás (+ 1343)

MAOL SHEACHLUINN Ó hEOGHASA cc.

1. Ní beag easbhaidh Inse Fáil,
ní headh nach easbhaidh anbháil ;
tug an Coimdhe do chách cor
[a fháth] nír dhoilghe dhosun.

2. Ar n-easbhaidh n-a heasbhaidh truim
ní heasbhaidh í gan fhochoinn ;
do-bheir soin chách gan chuimhne
an fáth fhoil gar n-easbhaidhne.

3. Re luadh na n-easbhadh uile
mó d'easbhaidh an t-aonduine ;
trom an béad rer samhladh sain
a éag as adhbhal d'easbhaidh.

4. Mág Shamhradháin an bheoil bhinn
ní beag an easbhaidh d'Éirinn ;
mé [go] croidhe [gum] chneasghuin
[is é] oile ar n-aoineasbhaidh.

5. Doirbh aoinfhear mar é dh'agháil
d'éis mhúinte Méig Shamhradháin ;
gan a bheith, a Dhé, gar ndíon
nocho cleith é dhar n-imshníomh.

6. Bás mheic Bhriain rub úr n-ochta
tug fúinn fuath an ábhachta ;
dul do sgaith Chorainn a curp
do aith orainn ar n-ábhocht.

7. Tómás mhac Briain bruinne geal
rob é coimhéad críoch nGaoidheal ;
an tráth ro mhar flaith Feabhail
maith do ghabh ó Ghaoidhealaibh.

8. Do thoit eineach Inse Fáil
ar ndula mheic Bhriain bhonnbháin;
nuair do-chuaidh ceann Feimhin
do-chuaidh gach dream dheigheinigh.

9. Tómás Mág Shamhradhán shaoir
ba mhinic inn n-a fhochraoibh;
truagh mar ro-chuaidh fear Finne
uainn re headh na haislinge.

10. Nír lamh aoinfhear thiar ná thair
theacht d'argain mheic Bhriain Breaghaigh;
do bhí ar bhreith dó go ndeachaidh
breith a mbó ó Bhréifneachaibh.

11. Goill is Gaoidhil ag guidhe
ar anmain fhir Aolmhuighe;
maith fian Bhanbha re gach mbocht
re mian [a] anma d'fhurtocht.

12. Maith do thuar thaighe nimhe
[a] almsa is a aithrighe;
a dtug flaith Monaidh a-maigh
maith ro fhoghain dá anmain.

13. Gach neach rerbh áil a fhagháil
fuair maitheas Méig Shamhradháin;
ba mian le sgaith bhféil bhFeabhail
a mhaith féin ag fileadhaibh.

14. A-déar ris—gá huair as fhearr?
d'éigsibh Alban is Éireann
a-tá líon catha dhá chur,
a ghríobh Mhacha, gud mholudh.

15. Táinig rinn ar dtreise id thaigh,
a mheic Bhriain an bhairr leabhair;
ar dtreise, a fhir Fhinne, ort
do-bhir inne gan fhurtocht.

16. Do chrích Bhréifne leath ar leath
do chaithfeadh uile a eineach;
ní chaitheadh sé acht réidhe rinn
[is re a ré] fhéile i n-Éirinn.

17. Ní fríoth orraim d'fhior uainne
i nGlinn Ghaibhle ghéaguaine
re ndul do ghríbh Cunga ó chách
do rígh nírbh urra a óglách.

18. A mhac féin táinig n-a theach
mar ro orduigh Dia dúileach;
do sduaigh Bhoirne nochor bhás
an t-oighre do thuair Tómás.

19. Tómás mhac Briain barr naoidhe
's sluagh Éireann gá éagcaoine
tug a chumha do chách cor
go bráth ar ndula dhoson.

20. Iomdha tír a-tá go sé
i leon uile dhá éise;
do thraoth méad borrfaidh Banbha
ar n-éag d'onchoin Eachlabhra.

21. Gidh iomdha anbhuain eile
do dhíoth churadh Caoinrighe
gidh doirbh gach ní ar ndula dhó
an chumha ní hí as oso.

22. Do thoirrsigh daoine an domhain
cumha ghéige gormChodhail;
dubhach slógh Banbha dhá bhás
ba mór a dtarbha ó Thómás.

23. Ar chan cách nír cheilte dhúinn
re mac mBriain an bhairr chladhúir;
" Toirseach bean ar muigh Mumhan,
a thuir Bhreagh, ód bhaoghlughadh."

24. Fa-ríor ní [bharr] sinn go sé
ar éis aoncharad fíre;
a-tá sinn ar ndola dhuid,
a chinn Chobha, gan charaid.

25. Ach rob iomdha ag teacht dod thaigh
dámha a hÉirinn 's a hAlbain;
beith ar th'uaigh, a fhir Oiligh,
do-bhir uainn gan t'ionnsoidhidh.

26. Do chumhasa, a fhir Fhearta,
tug oirne easbhaidh imdheachta ;
mór dhom neart do-chuaidh ar gcúl
ód leacht [bu] thuaidh ag tiompúdh.

27. Mairg a-tá mar tú dhá éis
a dtug dhúinn inn gá fhaisnéis ;
fuarus gach ní ar dán a dhuan,
gé dho bhí a ndál go diombuan.

28. Diombuan bó, nír bhuaine each,
ag mac Bhriain gá mbinn buidheach ;
[fuair] ba thoil ar chaith don chrudh
maith do chaith soin an saoghul.

29. Seasg gach bó chríon i n-a chuill
d'éis Mhéig Shamhradhán shúlchuirr ;
uathadh gort ar a bhfuil fás
do bhuin ar dtocht do Thómás.

30. Tómás mhac Briain, barr corcra,
leannán [is] barr bantrochta,
maith a chuing do chraoibh dhuibhe,
nír thuill aoir ná heasgoine.

Ní

Translation

1. Not slight is this loss to Inis Fail—nay, 'tis a heavy loss ; the Lord has cast down all folk ; the cause of it (i.e. Tomás' death) was less hard on him (than on men).
2. Our (sense of) loss, that heavy loss, has good cause ; its cause has driven us to distraction.
3. As we recall other losses, the loss of this one man seems greater than they ; his death, a terrible loss—heavy the disaster to which it is likened.
4. Sweet-worded Mag Shamhradhain is a great loss to Eire ; it means my utter ruin piercing me to the heart.
5. Having learned to know Mág Shamhradháin, 'twere hard (for me) to find another like him ; O God, his not being here to guard us exposes us to trouble.
6. The death of white-breasted Brian's son has given us a distaste for levity ; the departure of Corann's Flower from his body has punished us for our levity.
7. Bright-breasted Tómás, son of Brian, was guardian of the Gaoidhil's Land ; while lived the Prince of Feabhal, he got blessing from the Gaoidhil.
8. On the death of Brian's white-footed son the hospitality of Inis Fáil collapsed ; when the Leader of Feimhin died all generous folk disappeared.
9. Tómás, scion of noble Samhradhán—constantly did I abide with him ; alas that the Hero of the Finn died while we were yet enjoying the vision (of him).
10. No man in the East or the West ventured to harry Brian Breaghach's son ; 'twas ever in his power till he died to take their kine from the Bréifnigh.
11. Goill and Gaoidhil pray for the soul of the Hero of Aolmhagh ; Banbha's host are kind to all poor folk so as to bring release to his soul.
12. A good reason for his entering Heaven's house in his alms and penance ; what Monadh's Prince gave away has benefited his soul.

13. Every man who desired Mág Shamhradháin's wealth got it; the generous Flower of Feabhal wanted his wealth to be shared with poets.
14. I will say to him now—is not the time propitious ?— : " All the ranks of Éire's poets and Alba's are drawn up to praise thee, O Griffin of Macha."
15. My power over thee at thy court, O long-haired son of Brian, O Hero of the Finn, has now turned against me and renders me helpless.
16. He would have completely exhausted his generosity on Bréifne's land; he never showed us aught else, and—all his life long—hospitality in Éire.
17. No (other) man ever got homage from us in green-valleyed Gleann Gaibhle till Cunga's Griffin died, (and) no common soldier ever dared to act as lord to a lord.
18. Tómás's own son succeeded him in his castle as was the will of God the Creator; the heir he secured meant that he himself, Boireann's Pillar, did not really die.
19. Bright-haired Tómás, son of Brian, whom Éire's host bewails—sorrow for him now gone from us has disturbed the whole land.
20. Many is the land in misery today owing to his death; Banbha's swelling spirit has grown faint after the death of Eachlabhra's Wolf.
21. Though many other troubles come from the loss of Caoinreach's Hero, and though the world is gloomier for his death, 'tis our grief for him which is our heaviest affliction.
22. Grief for the Branch of green Codhal has saddened all men; gloomy is Banbha's host at his death, she had gained so greatly by his life.
23. I must repeat the words that all men address to Brian's son of the fresh-curling hair. " A woman is now weary with grief on the Plain of Mumha owing to thy facing of danger, O Prince of Breagha."
24. Alas, we expand no longer, left without (our) true and only friend; O Chief of Cobha, by thy death we are left friendless.
25. Alas, many the poet-band visiting thee from Éire and Alba : this brings us gathering at thy grave, O Hero of Oileach, yet unable to approach thee.
26. Grief for thee, O Hero of Fearta, robs us of all power of movement; my strength has greatly waned as I return Northwards (*i.e.* to Baile I hEoghusa on lower Lough Erne) from thy grave.
27. Sad the case of one like me recalling all his gifts; in exchange for making poems for him I got all things—though they were to be with me so short a time.
28. For only a short spell did cow or horse remain in the possession of Brian's son who loved me so; the wealth he gave away was always—so he found it—at his disposal afterwards; well had he invested it!
29. Wasted and barren now is every cow in his wood after the death of round-eyed Mág Shamhradháin; few are the fields showing sustenance for a cow now that Tómás is gone.
30. Bright-haired Tómás son of Brian, darling and lord of all ladies, well-performed were the duties of that Branch of the Dubh, he deserved not satire or curse.

NOTES

Mag. MS. p. 51. 1*b*. theadh *c*. tugudh a co. dho *d*. o rath (*from O'Longan's copy. MS. illeg.*); do 2*a*. ina theas *b*. theas.; och. *c*. da bh.; cui. *b*. boil (*dot over and under* b); neab. 3*a*. ri *c*. i bead 4*a*. amhrago (?) *c*. o craidhi; guma *d*. se 5*a*. dadhail *b*. Amhraghain *c*. nin *d*. nimnimh 6*a*. Bain (i *over* B) *d*. da 7*b*. -geal *d*. a gaigh. 8*b*. Bain (i *over* B) *c*. da *d*. da 9*a*. amraghan taeir *b*. minici ind na acraibh *c*. truadh mar ra chu. *d*. ri theadh na tais 10*b*. Bain (i *over* B) Bagh (e *over* B), *leg*. Bhrea. ? *c*. da bhi ar bith (e *over* b); gu neach 11*a*. Gaigh.; a guidhi *c*. ri *d*. ri; a *abest*; durt. 12*a*. da *b*. a *abest*; al. saththrighi (?) *c*. in dug; amaidh *d*. ri fho. 13*a*. adhail *b*. -tis; amhraghain *c*. bha f.f. *d*. mhaith 14*a*. Der; thuair *c*. thatha. *d*. Ma. 15*a*. tr. a tigh *b*. Bain (i *over* B) ar bhairr *c*. thr. *d*. da; urt 16*a*. Da cch (i *over* c) Bif (e *over* B) *b*. da chaithbheadh *c*. ach reighi *d*. se ri bfheili 17*b*. a gl. *c*. da gbh (i *over* g); *leg*. Chu. ? *d*. da 18*b*. ra *c*. dha sduaidh *d*. da 19*c*. sluadh *d*. ndola 20*c*. da; bhorrfhaidh; *leg* Bha. ? 21*b*. da; cu. *c*. gi; ndolo *d*. osso 22*b*. -ghail *d*. tar. 23*b*. ri; a bairr *c*. maigh *d*. budludhudh 24*a*. barir; bhair (*or leg*. mhair ?); gu *b*. theis aenchara firi *c*. ta 25*b*. thei. sa thal. *c*. thuaidh; -lidh *d*. da; -saidhi 26*a*. Da cumhasu a fhir arta *b*. oirrndi *c*. gul *d*. gutuaidh 27*b*. in tug dhuind; ais *d*. dha bhi i ndal; -bhuan 28*b*. ac (*dot under* c) mac Ban (i *over* B) *b*. mind *c*. uair 29*a*. cuill *b*. Amhr. tsuilch. *c*. bhuil *d*. do bhuin *indist*. 30 *from O'Longan's copy* *b*. is abest *c*. cu. daimgaibh (?) du. *d*. theasg.

REVIEWS

Biography

APOSTLE OF CATHOLIC DUBLIN: Father Henry Young. By Myles V. Ronan, P.P., D. Litt. Dublin : Browne and Nolan. 1944. 15s.

ose of us who live in Dublin are apt to take the city's history for granted. It uires no small effort of the imagination to get an adequate notion of Dublin's a hundred and fifty years ago—when most of the buildings of which Dublin o proud to-day were being planned or built. Dr. Ronan has given us a book which ps more than any I have read for many a long day to bridge the gulf between two turies. It is a pleasant and a scholarly book, and Messrs. Browne and Nolan e turned it out with little or no reminder that it is published towards the end he fifth year of war.

Father Henry Young was born in 1786 ; he was appointed curate at St. Michan's 1814 ; he died as chaplain to the Sisters at Portland Row in 1869. These dates er almost a century ; and the fifty-five years of Father Henry's priestly life in blin cover a period of astonishingly rapid recovery in the city's Catholic life. art from the saintly Archbishop Murray, who died in 1852, there is no priest the diocese whose career so completely typifies the Irish Catholic revival as men w and saw it here in Dublin.

Father Ronan is now parish priest of St. Michan's, and his heart is plainly in parish's history. He has spent many years in the pursuit of old parish records, l has gained an intimate knowledge of that less romantic side of Irish Catholic tory which is recorded in these humdrum documents. Father Young's biography es him a rare opportunity of clothing these dry bones with flesh and blood. r Father Henry was a Dubliner born and bred, and his family were as character- c as could be of those sturdy Dublin parishioners whose patient labours are recorded the parish registers. His father, Charles Young, was a Limerick merchant who de his way to Dublin in the days of Grattan's Parliament. His brothers and ers (for the family was large) shared the devout and charitable spirit of their rents. He himself had the odd quality of a somewhat eccentric piety which so ily gains attention ; but there was nothing odd or eccentric about his priestly rk in the city. Here was a true apostle, and—towards the end of his life—the lheavers from Dublin's quays would kneel in the streets as they saw the old man ss, and beg his blessing.

St. Michan's, SS. Michael and John's, St. Paul's, Harold's Cross, Finglas, ndalkin, Portland Row : the very names of the churches and chapels in which ther Henry preached and heard confessions, recall the early days of last century. ese parishes were then very much larger than they are to-day, and almost every- ng had to be done in the way of parish organisation. Dr. Ronan has adopted convenient method of grouping his materials. He begins with an exceedingly id sketch of Dublin life towards the end of the eighteenth century. It has been ne before, and there still remains much to be written. But this introductory chapter a necessary background for the story that follows, and we have here a valuable scription of Dublin's chapels, schools and charitable organisations toward the end the penal period. There is also a brief summary of the historical campaign for tholic Relief, which is worked skilfully into the history of the Young family—one many Catholic families that were already beginning to profit from the first measures relief. Dr. Troy was a friend of the Young family, and Dr. Ronan devotes a special tion to the policy which the Archbishop of Dublin followed in these anxious rs. Characteristically enough, young Henry was sent abroad for his priestly ucation—partly, no doubt, from a fear of the dangerous talk that was said to prevail ong the students at Maynooth. The priest who returned to Dublin in 1814 had

been formed in the Rome of Pius VII and Cardinal Consalvi; his piety was the piety of the Vincentian Fathers and the Jesuit Fathers, who had been driven back into a more and more intensely devout sacerdotalism by the prevailing spirit of restlessness and unbelief.

For more than fifty years Father Young worked for the poor of Dublin, in close co-operation with men like Dr. Blake and Dr. Yore—both of them zealous and capable parish priests, whose work is now too easily forgotten. He himself was an earnest and impressive missionary preacher, never more so than after the great Cholera Plague of 1832. Sometimes Father Henry preached in company with his two brothers, Father James, who was a Jesuit in Dublin; and Father William who worked for a time in Cornwall and was later parish priest of Howth. Two of his sisters were Ursuline nuns in Cork, one of them being an exceptionally gifted and successful teacher; whilst a third sister entered the Poor Clare Convent at Harold's Cross. Two of the younger brothers inherited the business, at West New Row (between Thomas Street and Lower Bridge Street). As has so often happened in Dublin's story, these two Catholic merchants backed their brothers in their priestly work by their own charity and sound example.

Father Young was a writer as well as a preacher, and Dr. Ronan has included a very useful and edifying account of the first Catholic books printed in Dublin at this time. In his Preface he acknowledges his debt to Mr. Patrick McGrath of East Essex Street, who gave him the run of "his priceless collection of old Dublin publications". Work of this kind can be achieved only by those who have given a lifetime to their collection. It is right that it should be fittingly and gratefully acknowledged.

I have not space for the more personal aspects of Father Henry Young's life—which was essentially a life of prayer, flowing over into an almost boundless flood of charity. Seventy years ago, when the memory of this saintly priest was still fresh in Portland Row and all through the city, Lady Georgiana Fullerton wrote a short *Life of Father Henry Young*, in which she embodied the many traditions of his apostolate and piety. They justify the claim that this Dublin priest was of the heroic mould—a Curé d'Ars who did not work miracles or make prophecies, but who lived a life that is comparable with that of France's saintly parish priest. Dr. Ronan has, of course, made full use of this small volume. The stories he tells are stories that were told to Lady Georgiana within two or three years of Father Young's death. They bring the man before us, with all his oddities and eccentricities—but a priest such as Dublin might well be proud of. And they help to make this book an exceedingly readable story of a great Catholic revival. A.G.

THREE RUSSIAN PROPHETS. By Nicholas Zernov. London: S.C.M. Press. 1944. 8s. 6d.

ONE of the peculiarities of the Russian people from the point of view of Western Europe is that, whilst an intense preoccupation with spiritual values has been amongst their characteristics, it is often found in combination with personal lives of disorderliness, squalor and seeming lack of moral control. It is not therefore a matter for surprise that, of the three Russian prophets discussed by Nicholas Zernov, one—and this one the most spiritual of all their creative writers—should present this strange contrast between spiritual strivings and pitifully inadequate practice. Of Dostoievsky, Turgeniev—who could not be accused of malice towards other writers—wrote: "He is the most evil Christian I have ever met in my life." And the critic Strakhov, in a letter about him to Tolstoi written a short time after his death, says: "He was wicked, envious, vicious, and he spent the whole of his life in such emotions and irritations that he would have been pitiable had he not been so wicked and so intelligent."

Yet, of the three prophets whose message is considered by Zernov to be vital for the present generation, it is this man rather than the ascetic Komiatov or the mystical philosopher, Soloviev, whose works matter to us to-day when men are beginning to feel the need of a profound katharsis to cleanse the world. That Dostoievsky realized intensely the need for such katharsis is indeed the most valuable quality, for the wild chaotic world of to-day, of his intensely troubled spirit,

> "He took the struggling human race,
> He saw each wound and weakness clear,
> He put his finger on the place
> And said thou ailest here and here."

Having tried all his life to heal himself, the urge to heal humanity became such an essential part of his need, so much a projection of his own spiritual struggle, that in a sense all his work may be said to be an effort to perform that task. More than any other novelist of our day Dostoievsky was, in purpose, a teacher and a prophet.

Nicolas Zernov has a clear vision of the inwardness of Dostoievsky's struggles when he says that the novels disclose in the man himself a power of good and evil such as most men are unwilling to acknowledge in themselves and that it was the insight which the torment of this internal struggle gave him that made him the protagonist of suffering humanity against the utilitarian and purely quantitative forces then and now threatening its destruction. Dostoievsky's scorn for those who deny that there is sin and proclaim that man's only evil is hunger and want, is indeed his most significant message for our generation, in which that false doctrine is being preached not merely by private individuals but by the rulers of great nations. That the mere re-shuffling of wealth from the classes to the masses could be a panacea for the deepest human ills seemed to Dostoievsky as fantastic a prescription for the sickness of the world as any of the older nostrums of the capitalist society which the reformers wished to displace. In such novels as *The Possessed* he ridiculed these theories, dubbing them the mere re-building of walls and passages as a substitute for the re-introduction of the living soul.

Of the two conflicting materialistic views of life the new theories seemed indeed to Dostoievsky the more dangerous, since they were not merely accidental results of man's greed and acquisitiveness, but were based on the fallacy that the material good of mankind can be substituted for religion as the profound motive force of man's life. That the new breed of positivist radicals, who seemed to him to have as little conception of human life as the acquisitive classes against whom they directed their diatribes, could imagine that their reforms could be a substitute for religion seemed to him outrageous, and he poured scorn on their complacency with even greater bitterness than on the smug selfishness of the others. As Zernov says in his penetrating study of Dostoievsky's prophetic vision, "the new world of the sufficiency of man was for him a state of indescribable darkness and horror prepared for mankind under the guise of renovation and resurrection." "I even assert," Dostoievsky wrote in his *Journal of an Author*, "that love of mankind is in general but little comprehensible and beyond the grasp of the human soul unless it is justified by the feeling which is derived from the belief in the immortality of the soul." And again: "Even the fulness of earthly existence cannot be attained without religion."

Such were the lessons Dostoievsky felt he had to give to humanity. To test or prove their truth he tracked man's self-will down as few novelists have done. Having hunted it down to its conclusions, he found not merely moral anarchy but material ruin—a sad prophecy of the things that were to come. As Zernov points out, it is impossible to understand Dostoievsky's outlook without grasping the essential place he ascribed to Our Lord's teaching and example in the history of mankind.

The story of the Karamazov family may be described as the peak of Dostoievsky's vision of the transcending need of spiritual values; but most of his novels have the same profound theme. Even in such a novel as *The Possessed*, which in externals may seem to be mainly a study of the relationship between the intelligentsia and the people, Dostoievsky's real concern stands clearly revealed: the ultimate spiritual purpose of man's life and the hollowness of all equality schemes as the key to man's slavation. "Equality as it is understood by flunkeys," "equality without individual dignity," "the jealous equality of mediocrities"—the scornful words flame through the pages in the bitterest repudiation of democracy empty of spiritual direction. But it was not with democracy or with any other form of political framework that Dostoievsky was concerned, but with the spiritual values they possessed or lacked for the salvation of the individual soul. For him the soul of the individual was the one thing that mattered. In *The Possessed*, Kirillov the atheist cannot go on living because he can find no meaning or value in an existence which is only a result of blind forces—"a vaudeville of the devils"; Stavrogin finds that his sensual indulgences can only increase his ennui because lack of all faith has destroyed all reality even in material things.

The great theme, as Zernov points out, runs through Dostoievsky's pages. The occasions and the circumstances of human disaster vary with the subject of each novel, but all finally reach the same diagnosis of human tragedy as the rootlessness of man without spiritual aim and values. In *The Idiot* the theme is approached from the angle of personal indulgence. Rogozhin is mastered by his undisciplined passions so that he becomes merely its tool; Natasya's fall from chastity, instead of being atoned through a return to repentance, has as its sequel an obstinacy in her fall that ends up in a blind tendency to self-destruction. In *Crime and Punishment* the approach is from the angle of overweening pride. The book under review does not discuss the message of this remarkable novel—perhaps because it is to some extent obscured by the mould of common melodrama with its forced coincidences and other mechanical tricks. Yet a closer reading makes it clear that the novelist here is deeply concerned with an aspect of his persistent theme—namely the spiritual root of crime. Raskolnikov, the spiritually reckless youth, strides over the old boundaries of morality in his defiant attempt to substitute his own value of the "beyond good and evil" brand and dies of the spiritual wound he had inflicted on himself. The result is not a legal or social punishment. It is a spiritual death, the slaying of the killer by the poison of his own crime.

Raskolnikov's final dream of a world of men like himself who fought and killed until all were destroyed is in fact one of the prophetic visions which make Dostoievsky's novels so real in our world of inner and outer anarchy to-day. Indeed the most prophetic thing to my mind in this curious melodramatic novel is Dostoievsky's insistence that Raskolnikov committed the crime for the sake of a principle the supra-human principle of a "beyond good and evil". It is the bankruptcy of the superman.

Overweening individualism, political forms empty of religion, acquisitive materialism, personal pride, sensual indulgence, all the pitfalls of humanity are explored in those powerful chaotic novels; the regions of humanity that abound in them are illuminated, but always, when disaster comes, it is traced to the same profound cause—the lack of light and leading arising from a loss of religion or a denial of it.

As Zernov puts it, "the cure for social evil proposed by Dostoievsky is bound to disappoint many of his readers, for it appears to have nothing new about it. It is as old as Christianity itself. Dostoievsky seems to many theorists to lack originality because he follows closely the thought explained in St. John's Gospel and Epistles. This is precisely, however, his great contribution; for there is unquestionably

a special significance in the fact that the most outstanding student of psychology of the nineteenth century arrived at the same conclusion as the great evangelist of the first." And again: "It was given to him to see the great battle between good and evil in all its terrifying reality, and he was sorrowfully aware that mankind was approaching its most decisive stage. It is no wonder that he attacked bitterly those false prophets and quack doctors who wanted to save mankind from suffering without attempting to cure it of sin and death" This is a concise summing up of the great crisis in the midst of which we find ourselves to-day. JOSEPH O'NEILL

"*FATHER TIM.*" By Harold J. McAuliffe, S.J. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1944. $2.25.

FATHER McAuliffe has written a beautiful book, for the simple reason that he happened to discover an exceptionally beautiful theme. It is not beautiful in the ordinary sense of the word—that is to say, it does not deal with matters which artistic minds would value nor with the refinements of aesthetic criticisms. But it is beautiful because it reveals a beautiful character dealing with the ugliest things in life and drawing from them that beauty which underlies all God's creation. It is an instructive book as well and it is, or at least should be, an inspiration to everyone who is placed in anything like the circumstances in which Fr. Tim Dempsey found himself.

Tim Dempsey was born in 1867 in one of the beautiful villages of Ireland on the slopes of Slieve Bloom, the village of Cadamstown. He died in 1936 at the age of 69 as Parish Priest of St. Patrick's Parish, St. Louis, Missouri, United States, after 38 years of labour as its Pastor. He was educated at Mullingar and St. Patrick's College, Carlow, and his old schools must to-day feel a thrill of pride in the achievement and character of their former pupil. Fr. McAuliffe has given us a most adequate account, with much detail, of the external life of Father Tim and he has sketched in as well something of the character of the man. The Parish of St. Patrick's was situated in the slum district of St. Louis, a district which we are told was a "hide-out" for gangsters, the resort of drunks and a happy hunting ground for racketeers. Into this sordid setting came the huge, genial and humorous priest, young Father Timothy Dempsey, in 1898, and when he died 38 years later, he had handled probably every form of social problem that can be handled in our modern urban civilisation—and handled it!—read the book and see. Let us quote Fr. McAuliffe for a moment:—

"What gave to this American social Apostle his exceptional personal power was this: that from the highest ecclesiastic to the lowest down-and-out, from the highest civic officer to the most wretched bloated bleary-eyed drunk, there was never a man to look into those sparkling blue eyes without being certain that Tim Dempsey was really interested in *him* in his own inner life from the cradle to the grave, that he himself was being valued and taken seriously, and not merely added to the spoils of some social policy or the names on some clerical document. For Fr. Tim Dempsey there was no Negro problem, there was a Negro opportunity . . . . when he came to dealing with people he was colour blind . . . . he did not bother his head to speculate as to why coloured people were coloured, but his faith caused him to speculate about their temporal and spiritual welfare . . . . 'Mind you,' said Fr. Tim, waving a big index finger in the reporter's face, 'I have been in this parish 25 years come St. Patrick's day, and it is what you call a tough neighbourhood. But in these years or in my whole life I have never met a mean man yet, Catholic or non-Catholic. They are all good lovable boys.'"

To start from the end of his life. In 1918 he got himself fully involved in the liquor racket that was going on in St. Louis, so that he was hearing the confessions and anointing the unfortunate leaders of the rival gangs who were doing the bootlegging. The police of St. Louis had no hesitation in giving him the highest testi-

monial to his power in maintaining the civic peace of the city. Although he was not universally successful in putting down the rival racketeers, his influence was such that things never reached the pass in St. Louis that they reached elsewhere. It is sad that the chief of each of the rival gangs boasted of an Irish name—one was Egan, the other Hogan—and Fr. Dempsey in the end seems to have seen both of them on the high road to Heaven. But before that particular problem had called for his attention he had made his name as an arbitrator in labour disputes, and it is said that he was responsible for the settlement in something like 30 or 35 major strikes and responsible for preventing innumerable disputes reaching the strike stage.

Early in his career, in 1906, Father Tim had opened a " Hotel " for working men. His Parish was not a normal Parish : " the majority of the residents spoke Slavic Hungarian, Hebrew and Italian," but its name was St. Patrick's. " People were coming and going with a rapidity that defied any accurate account of parishioners. The people were as poor as any of Dickens's unfortunates. It was the sort of place that refined ladies would visit when they wanted to go slumming for a thrill. Fists flew on the least provocation, and guns and black jacks were as common here as penknives in more refined quarters. The Ten Commandments took a beating and Fr. Tim knew it." Fr. Tim built his " hotel " for this floating population and, catching them there for a night or a week, managed by his personal efforts to save much from the wreckage. Inevitably many of his " guests " died, and he soon found it necessary to supply not only a temporary lodging for them but a permanent resting place until the Judgment Day—and so he started that section of the public Cemetery known as the " Exile's Rest," where he himself looked after the burial of any down-and-out who had need of that last service.

From the dead Fr. Tim was led on to the children, and soon he had established what we would call crêches and from the children naturally to the women, and so he opened a corresponding " Hotel " for working-women to match his one for the men. In a year or two he was practically the official and professional " parole giver " for any scoundrel who wanted to get out of gaol, and one of his favourite pursuits was to endeavour to rescue drunks from their vice. It is interesting to note that in this task he invoked the aid of Matt Talbot and distributed his life in scores of dozens. Moreover, when he remodelled his Church just before his death, he left a special niche in it where the statue of Matt Talbot was to be placed. It was never placed there ; for his own bust now occupies it, and at the base of it is written

" Father Tim : 1867—1936 : A Man of God."

One could go on almost indefinitely quoting from this extremely well written and well planned book. But it is enough to say that his life was probably the best concrete act of obedience of a priest to the Encyclical of Leo XIII—which, by the way, was issued in the very year in which Fr. Tim Dempsey left Ireland for America immediately after his ordination at St. Patrick's, Carlow. The production of the book and its illustrations are well worthy of the traditions of the Bruce Company and although its price seems high to us it is certainly well worth the money. E. J. C.

ALEXANDER SUVOROV By K. Osipov. Translated by Edith Bone. London : Hutchinson. 1944. 15s. net.

THIS book has for many reasons a special interest at the present time when the legions of the Red Army are sweeping westwards across Europe. It sketches the career of a unique personality, Alexander Suvorov, who was a brilliant and eccentric soldier of eighteenth-century Russia. Though he was in his day a loyal supporter of the autocratic monarchy, he has now strangely enough been resurrected by the Soviet Republic and is honoured as one of the main inspiring forces of resurgent Russia

The glorification of Suvorov by the new order is, however, in some ways understandable. Apart from his undoubted qualities as a brilliant soldier, he stands out in sharp contrast to the other generals of his country at the time. Unlike them he lived a Spartan life and took no part in the intrigues and orgies of the licentious Russian court. Unlike them, too, he had a genuine democratic feeling and showed real concern for the private soldier, whose hardships he shared throughout his campaigns and whose idol he became. A great reformer he set out, early in his career, to revolutionise the entire military organisation of his country in all its aspects, and he achieved that object against tremendous difficulties. He got rid of routine military methods, introduced new ideas of tactics, new strategic principles and new conceptions of warfare generally. The principles advocated by him, regarded as novel in his time, have been adopted with phenomenal success by the leaders of the Red Army in new conditions.

His biographer, M. Osipov, presents in these pages the portrait of a striking and singular personality, whom he ranks with Napoleon and Wellington as one of the greatest generals in the world's history A detailed account is given of his military achievements in Poland and Turkey and France, where the new tactics and strategy he adopted carried the Russian arms to victory again and again. While his biographer writes of the courage, colossal energy, selflessness and humanity of Suvorov, he does not hesitate to quote Lord Byron's description of him—" hero, buffoon, half demon and half dirt "—which reflects some opinion of the time. An Irish reader of this biography cannot help noting a certain resemblance in some ways between Oliver Cromwell and the Russian general. The ruthless campaign against the Rising of the Polish patriots in 1794, which culminated under Suvorov in the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children in Praga, and the equally shameful massacre in the sacking of Ismail a few years earlier recall Drogheda and Wexford. Despite the efforts of his biographer to palliate these deeds of brutality, one feels that they will ever sully his name and will justify the French estimate of him as a barbarian of genius. Remembering that this biography comes out of Soviet Russia, one need not wonder that, in portraying Suvorov's character and habits, it omits any reference to his profoundly religious spirit and outlook. A loyal son of the orthodox Russian church, he never gave the signal of battle without making the sign of the cross and kissing an image of Saint Nicholas. Nor does the biography refer to the fact that one of his descendants, bearing his name, was executed twenty years ago in the Russian capital by the leaders of the Revolution.

Much of the history of Europe of the time is woven round the eventful career of Suvorov in this volume. He was, for example, the chief instrument in accomplishing one of the major political crimes of history in the plundering of Poland and its partition among powerful neighbours. The scope of the book prevents any references to the brilliant Irish soldiers whose names shine out in the military history of eighteenth century Russia. Three at least of them were fellow-officers of Suvorov in his campaigns—Field Marshal Maurice de Lacy of Limerick with his cousin Field Marshal George Browne and Count John O'Rourke of Breffni.

A fine portrait of Suvorov, revealing some of the salient traits of his character, embellishes an interesting work, which also has useful maps of his campaigns.

R. H.

CARLYLE PROPHET OF TO-DAY. By Frank Lea. London: Routledge. 1943. 8s. 6d.

CARLYLE, but lately the most neglected of all the great Victorians, was at the time of his death in 1881 the most famous. The causes of such a fall from favour have

been examined by some foolish and a few wise men and have been explained accordingly. Such an examination is not Mr. Lea's business, which is " to discover and discuss those convictions which Carlyle believed to be of importance for his time and to show how he came to entertain them". Mr. Lea's interest in Carlyle is neither biographical nor historical but rather that of the social philosopher. He sees an analogy between revolutionary Europe in the nineteenth century and our war-torn world since 1914 ; and he finds in the evolution of events, if not exactly the phenomenon of eternal recurrence, at least similarities which may induce contemporary society to learn the lessons of history. Did not Neff, to whose *Carlyle* Mr. Lea professes himself so deeply indebted, say in 1932 : " The great public is listening to writers who say incompletely and imperfectly what Carlyle said with unparalleled brilliance and cogency. If Victorian clouds do not shroud his lightnings, it may next turn to him."

I do not think the clouds veiling Carlyle in 1944 are unfortunately any longer merely Victorian. They rather rise from the smoking democratic fields of the various war-fronts and from the fury of passions war connotes against a dictator solution of the post-1914-1918 impasse. Carlyle had presaged such a solution in *Cromwell* and in *Frederick the Great*. If his utterances in these great classics, as well as his views on the government (or misgovernment) of England (and Ireland) expressed in *Chartism, Latter-day Pamphlets, The Nigger Question,* do not argue despair of democracy and, in *Shooting Niagara : and After* ? advocacy of universal regimentation, how explain the editions of translated excerpts from his works in 1920, '21, '22 in Italy and the sale of 300,000 copies of selections from his writings in Germany between 1926-1932, the formative years of National Socialism ? (Cf. Alan Taylor *Carlyle et la Pensée latine,* 1938).

The task that Mr. Lea has undertaken, discovery and discussion of Carlyle's convictions and their genesis, is a heavy one—difficult to compress into 174 pages. It involves the examination of his prophet's relation to German literature and philosophy, a thesis in itself ; the disengaging of his convictions from the relevant writings (those who know their Carlyle will appreciate the toughness of that job) ; the discussion of the convictions (which are the basis of Carlyle's religious, social and political creed) in the light of modern Christian thought such as Maritain's, Chesterton's, Berdyaev's and of thought not so modern or Christian such as Karl Marx's. The juxtaposition of Carlyle and Marx, his German Jew contemporary, in one section of this book is interesting and not so far-fetched as it would seem. Does not Berdyaev tell of the twentieth century spiritual crisis within Russian Marxism and of the consequent foundation of an idealist religious movement of which Berdyaev himself became a leader ? Does not Chesterton insist on the overriding religious character of Carlyle's thought and on his belief in God but his refusal to believe in man " made in God's image " ? Do not Carlyle lovers—and there are still some—passionately regret his failure to reach the synthesis arrived at by his great contemporary Newman ?

Mr. Lea's book is well worth 8s. 6d. It is stimulating in its assumption of much knowledge on the part of his readers. It assumes much else besides. The issues raised may be topical ; the title would seem to indicate that ; Mr. Churchill's name occurs, as does the Duce's and the Führer's. But the issues are something more, as is indicated in the conclusion. They are eternal, thus suiting that fierce sage who when he started on his 1849 tour of Ireland with Charles Gavan Duffy, was minded to call himself " Eternity's Commissioner "—his own England having just before refused to name him one for its Poor Law !

MARY M. MACKEN

Celtica

ARDIC SYNTACTICAL TRACTS. Edited by Lambert McKenna, S.J, M.A. The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1944. Pages xix+304. 15s.

r is a commonplace in Irish literary history that the language of Bardic poetry emained unaltered from the thirteenth well into the seventeenth century. Such phenomenon, at a time when political unity was unknown, can be explained in ther of two ways only. A particular Bardic school may at an early period have ijoyed such a pre-eminence that the language used by its members was accepted a standard by the rest. Or there may have been something in the nature of a con-rence at which a standard language was worked out and was accepted by the repre-ntatives present. There is no indication in history of either of the two events king place, but some such positive step must have been taken resulting in this rm of language which remained permanent in the face of diverse and changing ialect forms.

But while we may not know how the thing started, we do know how permanence as achieved. At a period when, save for Latin, there was no such thing in Europe a grammar of the vernacular language, the Bardic poets had perfected a fully-eveloped and highly technical grammar of Irish. It dealt in great detail with acci-ence and syntax and (probably) with the rules of metre. It laid down definite rules correctness and exemplified them by a multitude of citations from the classical uthors; it enumerated (*more grammaticorum*) the exceptions to the rules, and it igmatised the various types of faults.

Whether all the schools used one such type of grammar or whether each school volved its own we do not know. All we can say is that the portions that have survived manuscript form do in fact show a common origin. The text of a portion of them, iat dealing with the declension of the noun and adjective, was printed many years go by Dr. Bergin in *Ériu*. In the present book Father McKenna has edited and mmented on those portions dealing with syntax. The first part of the volume chibits the texts from the four manuscripts which treat of the subject. This is llowed by very full notes (comprising nearly half the book) in which the many fficulties and obscurities of the text are examined. Finally, there are a number of pendices which discuss some of the technical terms used.

The most remarkable fact of these Bardic tracts and, incidentally, the fact which has ade them so difficult to understand and which had so far deterred scholars from tempting to edit them is that the whole system and terminology is completely ative. In particular, it owes nothing to the Latin grammar. This is all the more markable in view of the fact that the Latin grammatical system was not unfamiliar the Irish. It is well known that, so far back as the ninth century, Irish scholars ad been using and commenting in Irish on Priscian's *Institutiones*. They had trans-ted the terminology into Irish and were familiar with the system of declension, njugation, and so on. Yet, whatever the reason, when the time came to draw up grammar of their own they might as well have been living in China. Not a single rm shows any consciousness of a knowledge of Latin. Nouns are, it is true, declined nd verbs are conjugated but in a system differing widely from Latin. It is when e come to the texts dealing with syntax, however, that the problems would appear be virtually insoluble. Here is a text, very probably corrupt in places, using terms e precise meaning of which is unknown, to explain a rule which can often only e guessed at by a correlation of all the matter dealing with the point and by a reading the examples cited to see what they might have in common. That would be quite fficult enough were one presented with a text arranged in orderly sequence. But hat is one to do with a text which begins, usually without anything in the nature

of a sub-heading, to treat of a particular rule, then breaks off to insert a rule or (bette again) portion of a rule from another section, returns once more to the origina rule, gives some citations in support of it, then inserts a few more citations whic illustrate a totally different rule, and finally stops dead when half the rule has bee explained? One feels a great deal of sympathy with Charles O'Conor of Belanagar who wrote in Irish in the margin of one of the texts: "I am sorry to say that don't understand a word of all this," and he adds illogically enough: "and I don' think it would be much use to me if I did itself."

Only an editor who was thoroughly familiar with Bardic poetry, who develope in years of study a feeling for Bardic usage, and who combined the patience of Jo with the tenacity of a terrier could hope to make any sense of the riddle. In his note Father McKenna gives us the results of study that must have been annoying an tedious and at times of well-nigh insurmountable difficulty. Their excellence wil be best appreciated if one tries to worry out for oneself the meaning of a portio of the text unaided by the notes and then turns with a sigh of defeat to see wha the editor has made out of the puzzle. That the notes are at times tentative, that th mark of interrogation appears often enough need not surprise us. This is pionee work. Succeeding scholars may at times differ with the explanations given; they ma occasionally show that the editor has made a mistake. But that they should be abl to do so at all will be due to the help they will have got from Father McKenna' labours.

I have said that the terminology of these tracts is entirely of native origin. I the appendices the editor takes the most important of these terms and, by a proces of comparison of the places where they occur, has tried to arrive at their precis meaning. It is no disparagement to other scholars to say that the knowledge arrive at in these appendices represents some of the best work that has been done in Iris linguistic studies for many years. They are not easy reading—Father McKenna' terse style makes few concessions to our weakness—but a study of them will convinc the reader that this is careful, painstaking work of the most scholarly style. A poin that may not strike the casual reader should be mentioned here. Three of thes terms (*sealbadh*, *sunnradh* and *slégar*) begin with the same letter. Now a reading o the texts will show that the scribes had the engaging practice, when referring to an one of these terms, to denote it in the majority of cases by the letter *s*. This, of cours makes the interpretation of such passages ever so much easier!

In his introduction Father McKenna discusses the provenance of the texts an their relation one to another. It is to be regretted that this section was not mad much fuller. So many questions might with profit to the student have been treate of here, and even those points he does include are dismissed too briefly. He suggest that the tracts as we have them served as text-books for the teacher. Considerin the confused state of large portions of them, it seems possible that they are rathe student's note-books. I can imagine, for instance, a student who on a particula day took no notes in class trying to write down later as much as he could remembe of the master's teaching and of the examples he gave and, in the process, gettin the order of his notes mixed up. Or is it too fanciful to account for a lacuna in th text by the old story of forty winks on a hot day? After all, grammar was never very enthralling subject.

One other point in the introduction. The editor speaks of those sections, ver few in number, where the author of the text indulges in hairsplitting of a very exalte order, and of usages and rules which are never in fact met with in Bardic poetr The following explanation occurs to me. It is a well-known fact that in any conse vative profession the text-book in current use will contain a certain amount of wh the exasperated student would unhesitatingly label as "out of date, even in th days of Noah". An unwillingness to discard what has been revered in tradition eve

ough it should no longer have any actuality, coupled with a fear of what one's ntempories might say, will often result in the retention of such fossils. Now the ish poets would be hard to beat for conservatism, so it is not to be wondered at at their text-books include such archaisms as the infixed pronoun in a bewildering riety of forms or such extraordinary rules as those which are said to govern the age of the predicative adjective with singular and plural subjects. " *Ná déan nós us ná bris nós* " evidently goes very far back.

Present-day teachers of Irish have bitter experience of the fact that the absence anything in the nature of a standard is one of the greatest obstacles to an accurate asp of the language. This is particularly true in the matter of syntax. It has been id—exaggeratedly perhaps, but with a great deal of truth—that you can find stification for any grammatical construction you like in one or other of the various xts in dialect prescribed or recommended for examination purposes. And on the her hand, there is the local tin-pot judge who condemns as " bad Irish " whatever not current in his own brand of dialect. Unless we fix on some standard, be it ıe particular dialect or a form arrived at by consultation and agreement, we shall imposing an intolerable burden on those who are learning Irish. No one would, course, suggest that we should go back to the Bardic language in its entirety. ıt this book of Father McKenna's—and the rest of the grammatical tracts when ey are printed and edited with the same careful and scholarly skill—may well rve both as a headline and a source from which we might learn how to come to reement on a standard form of Irish, at least for purposes of literary work.

S. Ó C.

HE IRISH OF WEST MUSKERRY. A Phonetic Study. By Brian Ó Cuív. Dublin : The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1944. 5s.

Leabhar ana-thábhachtach é seo do'n t-é gur mian leis fuaimniughadh na Gaeilge d'fhoghluim go cruinn. Is móide is tábhachtaighe an leabhar : gurab í canamhn an Athar Peadar atá d'á pléidhe ann, agus canamhain ana-chuid filí, agus fós namhain go bhfuil tacaí nach gnáth ar fagháil cheana chun cabhruighthe le h-aos ghlumtha na bfuaimeanna innti. 'Siad na tacaí sin an ' Cómhgar ' le Seán Ó aoimh agus na céiríní gramafóin a ghabhann le n-a cheachtanna san. Truagh gan eis aire d'á tabhairt le n-ár linn féin, do'n duine nach fuláir dó gabháil d'fhoghluim teangan labhartha agus gan cóngnamh múinteóra aige.

Ach d'á fheabhas na sean-tacaí úd do luadhamair, ba bheag cabhair a thabhairidís do dhuine bheadh ar thóir fuaime focail áirithe, i gcomhair ocáide áirithe, ar ní bhíodh foclóir ná clár ar fagháil do bhí iomlán i n-aon chosamhlacht. Tá n tugtha ag Brian Ó Caoimh dúinn : clár triocha leathanach de mhion-chló mar héar-ar-eolas fe dhéin na fuaime ins an leabhar.

Cuireann a t-ughdar síos ar an bhfuaim féin, agus ar an slighe i n-a gcumtar í, us fós ar an malairt chuma a bhíonn ar na fuaimeanna agus iad ceangailte le chéile n abairt, ar an mBáthadh agus ar an Sleamhnán agus ar an mBéim Gotha. í dheineann se faillighe, ach oiread, i dTiuin na Cainnte do thabhairt dúinn. Ba haith an cuimhneamh ag an ughdar tuairisc na nguthaí de réir an chaoi i n-a gcumtar d i mbéal agus i scórnach an duine, agus tuairisc orra de réir a macsamhail i dteangain le do bheadh ar eolas ag an ngnáith-léightheoir. B'fhearr linn dá mbainfeadh an ghdar breis feidhme as an dara modh díobh san.

Is ionmholta go mór an tagairt úd ag an ughdar do'n idir-dhealbhadh atá idir bhfuaim agus an gcomhfhuaimniughadh (*phoneme*), 's é sin sraith fuaimeanna ach bhfuil de dheifridheacht eatorra ach an deifridheacht a thagann ortha ósna aimeanna a thagann díreach rómpa agus i na ndiaidh sa bhfocal nó san abairt bhartha. Ach de réir an tsain-mhínighte chéadna níor chóir dhá " a " agus dhá

" á " bheith ann, mar atá ag an ughdar, ach aon " a " amháin agus aon " á " amháin, mar atá ag na filí agus mar atá ins an Litriughadh Simplidhe. Ba leor mar d'oirfeadh do'n adhbhar, dar linn, a rádh leis an léightheoir nach " ia " a bhíonn ag na filí de ghnáth, ach " e : " ; agus gur mar a chéile san bhfilidheacht " əi " agus " ai " ; nó " au " agus " ou " ; (agus " i " agus "u " de ghnáth, cuma ciaca neamh-chruinneas nó cúrsaí canamhna ba bhun leis).

Tar éis cur síos ar na fuaimeanna do'n ughdar, agus sraith sean-ráidhte agus sean-scéalta do thabhairt dúinn mar dheismireachtaí, tugann sé tráchtas dúinn ar stair na bhfuaimeanna, agus cuireann sé i n-iúl dúinn conus litreacha na gnáth-Aibghitre d'fhuaimniughadh. Sin rud atá ró-annamh, fóiríor, ins na nuaidh-leabhraibh léigheanta úd i n-a dtráchtar ar fhuaimeanna na teangan. Ní cuibhe le h-Aos Fuaim-eolais an iomarca bainte bheith aca leis na gnáith-litreacha scríobhtha ; cé gur beag rud eile a iarrann an gnáith-léightheoir orra, agus cé gur mar an gcéadna, nach mór, sa Ghaedhilg, cur síos ar mhalairt-litrighthe focal ins na Láimh-scríbhinni, agus trácht ar stair na h-úrlabhraidheachta,—mar gur le seanchas na bhfocal is mó bhaineann an litriughadh úd. Tá súil againn go ndéanfaidh gach ughdar aithris ar an leabhar so, sa mhéid sin feasta.

B'fhearr linn a leithéid seo de leabhar bheith as Gaedhilg. Is le léightheoirí na Gaedhilge is dlúithe bhaineann an tadhbhar, agus dáltha lucht a léighte as an Iasacht. ní mór an leas a fhéadfaidís a bhaint as an leabhar, muna bhféadaidís é léigheamh as Gaedhilg. Ó foillsidheadh *Úrlabhraidheacht* Thomáis Uí Mháille, agus *Foghraidreacht* Shéamais Uí Shearcaigh agus *Foghraidheacht na Gaedhilge* le Criostóir Ó Raghallaigh, tá bunadhas na Téarmaigheachta ba ghádh ar fagháil cheana.

L. H.

History

ANNÁLA CONNACHT : *The Annals of Connacht* (*A.D.* 1244-1544). Edited by A. Martin Freeman. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1944. 42s.

Here is a substantial and most welcome addition to our Irish annalistic literature. Mr. Freeman is already known to Irish scholars as the editor of a partial edition of these Annals of Connacht, which was published (without translation or commentary and only as far as A.D. 1412) in the *Revue Celtique* during the years 1933-35. The *Revue Celtique* came to an untimely end in 1936, and Mr. Freeman was unable to continue the publication of his work. After some correspondence with the Irish Manuscripts Commission, it was decided that the publication of this important Irish text should be handed over to the new Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Mr. Freeman was thus brought in contact with Dr. T. F. O'Rahilly—to whom, and to his fellow-workers in the Institute, a generous tribute is paid in a postscript to the editor's Introduction. The bulk of the work now printed in this handsome volume (on paper which it is a joy to handle in this fifth year of the war) was completed more than fourteen years ago. To all concerned we offer our heartiest congratulations on an achievement which is indeed a boon to all students of Irish medieval history.

The text is edited from a sixteenth-century manuscript now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, where it is classified as MS. Stowe C III. 1. Part of this text (from the middle of A.D. 1316 to the end of 1412) has been printed by W. M. Hennessy in order to fill a large hiatus in the text of the Annals which he edited in 1871 as " The Annals of Loch Cé ". Hennessy was not able to use the Stowe MS for his edition, as it was then locked up in the library of the Earl of Ashburnham. He printed his text from two inferior copies—one of them in T.C.D. Library (MS. H. 1. 1 and 2), the other in the Royal Irish Academy Library (MS. 23 F. 8 and 9). Mr. Freeman's text is thus the first reliable text of an important Irish chronicle.

The Stowe MSS. came back to Ireland sixty years ago, and scholars have since ien had abundant opportunity of consulting this manuscript in the Academy ibrary. That it contains a text closely related to the Annals of Loch Cé has long een known. Hennessy maintained that the two chronicles must have been copied om a common original: " one made for the family of O'Conor Don by the O'Mul-onrys, the hereditary historians of the sept; and the other made for Brian Mac-ermot, chiefly by members of the O'Duigenan family, the historiographers of ie MacDermots ". The chronicle written by Brian MacDermot is the text which ennessy, following O'Curry, called the Annals of Loch Cé. The text here edited by Ir. Freeman is the chronicle which Hennessy identified as having been copied by me member of the O'Mulconry family for O'Conor Don. In a valuable section his Introduction, Mr. Freeman has compared these two chronicles in detail and as shown that they agree far less closely than Hennessy believed. They are indeed vo distinct chronicles, which have portion of their text in common. But there are rge sections in which these Annals of Connacht represent a new and valuable ntribution to the Annals of Ireland.

The Stowe MS. from which this text is edited has been written by three distinct ribes. There are two fine facsimiles at the beginning of this volume which include ecimens of the work of all three hands. Mr. Freeman agrees with Hennessy in inking it probable that all three scribes were members of the O'Mulconry family. r. O'Rahilly has confirmed this conclusion by a most interesting note on the use the name Páidin which occurs (*Patin qui scribsit*) on fo. 49 of the Stowe MS. e has collected various instances of this unusual forename in the O'Mulconry mily and agrees with Mr. Freeman in identifying one of the scribes as Páidin, e father of Muiris Ó Maoilchonaire who transcribed the Book of Fenagh. If this entification is correct, Páidin is responsible for the first 61 folios of the Stowe MS. ith some minor interruptions), whilst the remaining thirty folios were written esumably by other members of this same learned family. But this series of ingen-us arguments is countered by a marginal note on fo. 66c: *misi sean 7 is misdi me n dolp agum* (" I am John and I am at a loss without Dolp "). Dolp is a known rename of the O'Duigenan family; and an obit of this family (a. 1542—not 1524, is printed in the Introduction, p. xiv) is given special prominence at the foot of . 88 by the scribe of the last section of the text. These two minor indications ggest that the third section of the MS. may perhaps have been written by a member the O'Duigenan family or by some member of the O'Mulconry family who was in se touch with Dolp Ó Duibhgennáin. Two centuries after the date of its compila-n this manuscript was certainly in the possession of the O'Duigenan family, for ere is a partially erased legend on the margin of fo. 15; " Domnick Diggenan s old . . . book and when he rite it he was . . . an 3 skore & he will be more plese d 1727." On the other hand, there is a brief addition to one of the entries in the t section (a. 1543): *misi miolus omaoilc-*. Mr. Freeman has made it plain that is Miolus Ó Maoilchonaire did no more than add the surname *aburc* to an entry ncerning Ulick son of Ricard óg. If we assume that the scribe of this third section) was a member of the O'Duigenan family, it is plain that his work was examined Miolus Ó Maoilchonaire. If we assume that C was a member of the O'Mulconry mily, he must be distinguished from Miolus, his kinsman.

These details are tedious, but they have an important bearing on a further problem. e these " Annals of Connacht " to be identified with the " Book of the O'Duigenans Kilronan," which the Four Masters name as one of their main sources? I must nfess that Dr. O'Rahilly's learned argument seems to me almost conclusive in vour of Páidin Ó Maoilchonaire as the scribe (A) of the main portion of the text. it it is certain that the book was later O'Duigenan property. Mr. Freeman, who ates the case fairly on both sides, leaves the question open.

A word must be said as to the title "Annals of Connacht". It is of course, derived from the parallel title "Annals of Ulster," which is now the commonly accepted title of the great compilation which we owe to Cathal Óg Mac Maghnusa. But the Four Masters call these Annals simply the "Book of Seanadh of Mac Maghnusa in Lough Erne," and the title "Annals of Ulster" has no ancient authority. Students of the Annals do not need to be warned that neither the "Annals of Ulster" nor the "Annals of Connacht" are in any true sense of the word local chronicles of these two provinces. Indeed it is only in the long section which is devoted to the fifteenth century that the Annals of Ulster are predominantly of Ulster—and indeed of local Fermanagh and Maguire interest. These Annals of Connacht begin with the year 1224, and Connacht items predominate for the first hundred years and more. Then the interest tends to grow wider, though there are many clear indications that the book was compiled by a scholar who had a peculiar interest in the O'Conor family. Mr. Freeman has noted some passages in which these Annals omit entries concerning the MacDermot family which occur in the Annals of Loch Cé—a further argument (though he does not make the point) in favour of an O'Muiconry authorship, since the O'Duigenan family had a hereditary connection with the MacDermots.

A digression may be pardoned at this point. The important Munster Annals which Dr. Best and Dr. MacNeill published for the Royal Irish Academy are commonly known as the "Annals of Innisfallen". On the analogy of these two parallel texts from other provinces, the "Annals of Innisfallen" might very fairly be called "Annals of Munster". Dr. Best has advanced excellent arguments for his view that the main portion of the so-called "Annals of Innisfallen" were written at Emly in the late eleventh century. Internal evidence of the ecclesiastical obits which are included in these Annals confirms his conclusion. The "Annals of Innisfallen" were probably written for the most part in Emly; they may have journeyed for some time from monastery to monastery before they were finally completed at Innisfallen during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But they are everywhere representative of a Munster tradition in the same general sense as the Annals which Mr. Freeman has edited represent a Connacht tradition.

The editor of the *Catalogue of the Irish MSS. in the R.I.A. Library* makes a very interesting suggestion, which Mr. Freeman is inclined to accept. She holds that these Annals of Connacht are to be identified as the "Book of the O'Duigenans of Kilronan," which the Four Masters name as one of their sources. Those who have worked their way through Hennessy's very elaborate Introduction to his edition of the Annals of Loch Cé will remember that Todd and O'Donovan complicated an already complex question by their theory that these Annals were in fact the Annals of Kilronan. O'Curry demolished that theory many years ago, and the title "Annals of Kilronan" was left as a memory of a confusing controversy. If Mr. Freeman's Annals of Connacht are in fact the "Book of the O'Duigenans of Kilronan," we are a long step forward in the process of sifting the material collated and transcribed by the Four Masters. Further study is needed, but some day a competent editor must produce an edition of the Annals of the Four Masters containing no more than the residual matter left over after the large mass of material which the Four Masters have copied bodily from the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Connacht has been subtracted from the whole. A study of this residual matter might lead to some very interesting conclusions. The Four Masters show no knowledge of the book we know as the Annals of Innisfallen. Students of Leinster history are conscious of the gap caused by the absence of any "Annals of Leinster" which could be set beside the Annals which have come down to us from Munster, Ulster and Connacht. I believe that an analysis of this residual

matter in the Four Masters would reveal a considerable body of Leinster obits and other entries; and I suggest that the Four Masters had access to a book (now lost) that must have derived from some Leinster monastery or other centre of learning. From an analysis which I made some time ago of the ecclesiastical obits of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, I should be inclined to risk a bet that these Leinster entries derive from Clonenagh or from some house closely connected with that monastery.

There are many other points which tempt a reviewer to fuller comment. The comparative absence of ecclesiastical obits in these Annals is characteristic of all the later medieval Irish Annals. Students of the earlier Annals will agree that ecclesiastical obits are everywhere abundant in the pre-Norman period. The Four Masters, by their systematic arrangement according to which every ecclesiastical item is given pride of place in each year, give the illusion of a similar abundance for the later period. That system is not found in the older Annals. There is, on the whole, a steady decline in ecclesiastical interest once the thirteenth century has been reached. The Annals of Ulster, for example, are nowhere more detailed than in the fifteenth century. But these long and accurate entries are predominantly secular in their interest. The few ecclesiastical items, on closer examination, prove to be in most cases entries that concern some member of the Maguire family or of kindred septs. So too in these Annals of Connacht.

Mr. Seán Mac Airt has compiled an elaborate Index of the materials contained in these Annals, and this Index makes it easy to check the omissions in this field. There are, for example, two obits of Archbishops of Tuam under 1407 and 1437. Eight other Archbishops of Tuam died within the period covered by these Annals from 1437 to 1544, including the famous Franciscan Maurice O'Fihilly. His obit is given in these Annals (a. 1513)—though it has been omitted from the list of Archbishops of Tuam in Mr. Seán Mac Airt's Index—but none of the other seven names occur. Elphin had peculiarly close connections with the O'Conor family. There are only two obits of Bishops of Elphin during the fifteenth century in these Annals (a. 1404 and 1468). There is only one for the sixteenth century; but it is worth having. Sixtus IV provided a Greek named George Braua (not Brann, as Mr. Freeman spells it in note on p. 674) to the see of Dromore in 1483. Alexander VI translated him to Elphin in 1499, and he died as Bishop of Elphin in 1530. Sir James Ware states in his *De Praesulibus Hiberniae* that this Bishop of Dromore and Elphin was a Greek by birth and a native of Athens. He certainly was a Canon of All Hallows, Dublin, at the time of his provision in 1483. I was never able to find any contemporary confirmation for Ware's statement concerning the Bishop's birthplace until I read the following obit in these Annals of Connacht (a. 1530): "The Bishop of Elphin died, that is the Greek Bishop; and this death was not the downfall of charity" (*et ni hoilbeim don daonacht ant ecc-sin*). The scribe who wrote that entry (whoever he was) seems to have formed a poor opinion of the Bishop's hospitality to men of learning!

It is time to stop. I should like to end, as I began, with a word of sincere congratulation to all those who have played their part in the worthy production of this volume. Thanks are due above all to the Editor himself. There may be slips here and there in the historical Notes; but Mr. Freeman's name, backed by Dr. O'Rahilly's name as friendly critic and supervisor, gives a guarantee that the Irish text itself is everywhere most trustworthy. That is no small matter in a text which has suffered from the indiscreet zeal of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, who loved this manuscript too well and defaced it with many misguided additions, corrections and marginal notes.

AUBREY GWYNN

MATER ECCLESIA. An Inquiry into the Concept of the Church as Mother in early Christianity. By Joseph C. Plumpe. Catholic University of America Press. 1943. $2.

This book is the fifth in the series of studies in Christian antiquity published by the Catholic University of America. Like its predecessors and like the cognate studies in the Patristic series, it is scholarly, careful in inference and balanced in judgment. The author's method and predilection may be divined from a wistful remark in a footnote that a detailed study of the term μητρόπολις is long overdue. In the *Mater Ecclesia* the author enumerates fully the use of the term in the sources examined; his allusiveness is unremitting; the bibliography is extensive. This work may be regarded as a perfect example of *Wissenschaft.*

It has often been noticed that Tertullian and Cyprian use the term "mother" by attribution as a title or by predication as a function of the Church, even though they give a different meaning and a different extension to the term, especially after Tertullian had become infected with Montanism. The merit and the interest of the author's work lie in his effort to trace, in its most primitive associations, the time and place of origin of "*mater ecclesia*" to a time anterior to Tertullian and to a place other than Africa. He finds the ground of it in Pauline and Johannine mysticism, especially in the Epistle to the Galatians iv 26. St. Paul, however, developed rather the somatic concept of the Church as the Body of Christ or the concept of the Church as the Bride of Christ. Very easily, nevertheless, *mater ecclesia* began to compete for popularity with the bridal concept, as we observe in St. Polycarp's letter to the Philippian's where he speaks of the Church as μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν (circa 110 A.D.).

The author, after a critical examination of all the evidence, concludes that "Somewhere in Asia Minor the practice of regarding and calling the Church *Mother* must have originated." The letters of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, writing to their friends in Asia Minor and Phrygia in 177 A.D., "contain the earliest preserved instances of 'Mother' as a direct appellative of the church." The first witnesses are Phrygians; the Galatians were near neighbours of the Phrygians; the cult of mother deities in the East, especially of the *Magna Mater,* though it did not give rise positively to the title, contributed negatively to it—all this, weighed with much critical acumen, leads the author to maintain that about the middle of the 2nd century or even earlier, the cult was fully developed in Asia Minor—introduced there, perhaps, from Antioch. It passed into Africa through Phrygian Montanism before Tertullian began to write in 197 A.D.

Rome adopted the title more slowly—at what precise date it is impossible to determine. The author contrasts with the reticence and sober hesitation of Rome the free and affectionate use of *Mater Ecclesia* by Eastern Christians and by those writers affected by the mysticism and intellectual curiosity of the Alexandrine and Greek mind. Though Cyprian, in writing to Pope Cornelius during a bitter persecution, speaks fervently of the *mater ecclesia* which he identifies explicitly with the Catholic Church, the Pope in reply refrains from using the term, though he borrows freely other phrases of Cyprian's. The author in comment opens a view into a wider question: "Eastern allegorism and mysticism developed to full maturity the person and office of the Church as Mother. To the Roman attitude, to the Church of the Rock and the Keys, in the economy of divine Providence also the heir, in good measure, to the ancient Roman *auctoritas* and, in its bishop, to the ancient Roman *patria potestas,* this probably appealed as the appearance of a rather new and novel tradition in identifying the Church founded upon Peter . . . . It is plain that from the concept of the universal church as Mother Church to the concept of the Church at Rome as *the* Mother Church of the universal church is only one step. This must have been seen at Rome. But Rome did not take the step—at least

ot, it seems, till very late. Rome chose to assert her primacy on other grounds, istorical and judicial, not on an emotional appeal imported from the East."

So, too, this excellent study throws an interesting side-light on the tension which as existed from the earliest days of Christianity between those who favoured hat was mystical in doctrine and those who sought chiefly for what was practical. he Eastern mind was given to allegory ; the Roman prided itself on positive wisdom nd had little liking for metaphysics or for what it regarded as fanciful in Eastern nterpretations of Scripture. The contrasting attitudes enrich and control each other hiefly because the Bishop of Rome, endowed with a special prerogative and with upreme authority, may decide once and for all what may be conceded to the claims f each and what must be denied.

This work, valuable for the care with which it examines one concept, is valuable lso for the light it throws on other theological questions not explicitly treated in it.

J. E. C.

RISH PUBLIC OPINION 1750-1800. By R. B. McDowell. London : Faber & Faber. 1944. 21s.

The conspicuous modesty of Dr. McDowell's brief Preface and the hope he here expresses—that, if unable to ' avert criticism,' he may at least ' prevent dis- ppointment '—is even upon first reading impressive. But the full extent of his modesty s apparent only when his book has been read through to the end ; for out of what night well appear uncommonly unmanageable material Dr. McDowell has succeeded n producing a highly interesting and instructive work. The very full and carefully rranged bibliography with which the work is furnished is at once valuable in itself nd telling evidence of patient research. Messrs. Faber and Faber, despite wartime estrictions, have produced the book well, and an examination of its plan and contents how Dr. McDowell the happy possessor of an enviable skill in exposition.

That this new book is not a history of Ireland in general is at once clear from he wording of its title ; but neither is it, in any strict sense of the word, a history of the specific period 1750-1800. One might go further and say that, unless the reader comes to this book already equipped with a fairly clear concept of the course of Irish history during the last half of the eighteenth century, he will miss much of the force of what Dr. McDowell has to say. Dr. McDowell himself shows a fine mastery of the history of that time and endeavours to bring home to us, as the result of a wide reading in the newspapers and pamphlet press of the time, something of he contemporary outlook on the ' different political and social problems ' prevalent n Ireland between 1750 and the end of the century. Later on he hints at an even wider canvas which would embrace ' social, economic and religious ' considerations ; but, at the end of it all, it must be admitted that it is Irish political questions which n the main occupy his attention.

In fact the greatest weakness of the work seems to be that it is so gracefully written that the undiscerning reader may well be led to misconstrue the nature of the religious, social and economic conditions prevalent in Ireland at the time. And this, not as a result of course of any conscious endeavour on Dr. McDowell's part—who is himself far too well up in the history of the period to be under any misapprehensions—but owing to the definitely academic manner in which the different questions are handled. The Catholic question, for example, is not shelved—tho' it s perhaps unnecessarily guarded to speak of its introduction in ch. 4 as a ' digression ' —but it is treated in almost complete abstraction from the practical operation and scope of the penal laws. It is much the same with the agrarian troubles of the period which, tho' they may not have exerted any very lasting influence on the events of the time, loomed large in the newspapers of the day and presented more of a problem for the administration and aroused more anxiety throughout the country than anyone

would be likely to suspect from the notice accorded them in these pages. But to all this Dr. McDowell may very fairly reply that such limitations are inseparable from a work of the kind he has undertaken and are no blemish for criticism.

Being an exposition of the views of different peoples and groups in the Ireland of some century and a half ago, Dr. McDowell's book lacks the personal unity of a biographical study or the continuity characteristic of the evolution of any specific movement. It makes no claim to be more than a ' series of special studies,' and as such it is scholarly throughout and notable for fair and shrewd judgement in most important matters. Dr. McDowell is never out to write to a thesis or force a conclusion beyond available evidence, and he achieves with laudable success the task he assigns the historian of identifying himself, ' at least to some extent, in turn with each of the parties or groups which he is dealing with '. Here and there he inadvertently slips into the use of the term ' Irishmen ' where, to cite a qualification he himself offers upon one occasion at least, ' Irish Protestants ' would be more ' precise'. But such small lapses are generously compensated for by the deft characterisations, in a few short words, of persons and groups of people with which the book abounds. We have the description of the Earl of Charlemont as ' the type of man who oscillates inconclusively between making omelettes and breaking eggs ' and the very sound analysis of the position of benevolent Protestants who found themselves almost habitually ' torn between good nature and nervousness '. A rather fine balance is again reached where it is remarked of the Irish Catholics that they continued to feel a ' hankering after the Stuarts or at any rate a certain distaste at the idea of completely repudiating them,' and so on of many other instances. Nor may we overlook the not infrequent light shed upon the origin of many of our more modern problems of government and schools of thought, which provides by no means the least interesting element in this fine book. C. O'C.

POLITICS AND PHILOSOPHY

THE ITALIAN CORPORATIVE SYSTEM. By James Meenan. Cork University Press. 1944. 12s. 6d.

IT is to be hoped that no student of international affairs will be deterred from reading this admirable work by the idea that it is ' out of date '. Nothing could be farther from the truth. In the unfortunately long interval between the writing of the book and its publication the Fascist State, together with most of its works and pomps, has been consigned to the lumber-room of history. But the real value of Mr. Meenan's work is not appreciably affected by the disappearance of Mussolini's Corporative State. All who desire objective information on the economic and social life of Italy, and on the problems that remain to confront the peace-makers of to-morrow, will profit from a study of it. More important still, although Mr. Meenan has confined his study to the Fascist variant, in effect he has given us a cautionary guide to Corporativism as a whole. Hence this book may be read with even greater profit by those ill-informed evangelists who find in the blessed word Corporativism—largely because it is polysyllabic and unfamiliar—something which dispenses them from the hard work and clear thinking involved in drafting a real programme of social reform.

Mr. Meenan's industry is evidenced by the formidable list of sources cited in the Appendix and by the frequent quotations, some of them gems of unconscious humour, from the speeches and writings of Corporativist ' hierarchs ' which he uses so effectively throughout the book. The clarity and precision with which he presents all the relevant facts deserve a special word of praise. Perhaps only those who themselves have had to wrestle with the confused and often contradictory mass of statutes, decrees, and Ministerial orders that represented Fascist legislation can fully appreciate Mr. Meenan's talent for bringing order out of chaos. Indeed

he only possible criticism of his work is that the writer's orderly mind has occasionally nvested the crude improvisation known as Fascist Corporativism with more coherence nd consistency than it ever possessed.

Mr. Meenan writes freely and freshly, and the vein of quiet humour that runs hrough his treatment of the rather ponderous material is a constant delight to the eader. But the greatest merit of the book is the scrupulous objectivity f its judgements. Mr. Meenan never writes as a politician, and never allows his earching analysis of Corporativist theory and practice to be affected by political rejudice. Sometimes one cannot help feeling that his impartiality s almost unduly austere: for example, he declines to use the steady downward rend of wages in Italy ever since 1926 as an argument against the Corporative State, on the ground that the fall could have been induced by the world depression nd later accentuated by the crazy imperialistic policy of the Dictator. Such impartiility is indeed a rare virtue, and it gives this book a high place among the works n Mussolini's Italy that have appeared in English.

Yet the results of Mr. Meenan's scholarly and objective analysis constitute a more devastating indictment of the Fascist experiment than all the fulminations f the professional anti-Fascist scribes put together. Under his polite but merciless examination, the whole Corporative system—which Mussolini once had the impudence to call 'the civilization of the twentieth century' which 'gives originality to our Revolution'—reveals itself as 'a thing of shreds and patches'. Its genesis is rightly traced to the small Nationalist party, whose fusion with Fascism in 1924 provided that amorphous movement with something like a political philosophy. To Mussolini, the arch-opportunist, Corporativism meant simply the extension of totalitarian technique to the economic processes. Whether it was destined to benefit the employer or the worker, or both or neither, was a question of secondary importance in his eyes. His real purpose in adopting it was to integrate the whole economic life of Italy in the machine of the Party State.

Mr. Meenan shows convincingly that absolute control by the State (in other words by the Fascist party bosses) was the alpha and omega of Fascist Corporativism. Even the smallest local syndicate was bound hand and foot to the local organs of the Dictatorship. The principle of independent vocational organization was never admitted for a second; still less, of course, freedom of election, speech or action. On the contrary, as one Fascist writer put it, 'the supreme merit of the Régime was that it had succeeded from the start in bringing the corporative organization within the State, saturating it with Fascist spirit and discipline, and making it a civil militia beside the Party militia.' One of the first to note and deplore this conscription of the vocational principle into the service of the Party State was Pius XI. 'It is feared,' he wrote in *Quadragesimo Anno*, 'that the new syndical and corporative organization tends to have an excessively bureaucratic and political character, and . . . . ends in serving particular political aims rather than in contributing to the initiation and promotion of a better social order.' Three years later Mussolini, in one of his most important speeches on this subject, used words which amply confirmed the Pope's apprehensions. Discussing the question whether the blessings of Corporativism could also be shared by other countries, he laid down three indispensable conditions for its successful working: a single Party, a totalitarian State, and 'a period of high ideal tension'. Will quondam admirers of the Fascist brand of Corporativism in the English Catholic (and occasionally the Irish Catholic) press please note?

In his study of the system Mr. Meenan wisely stresses the vast difference between theory and practice that characterized so many Fascist institutions. He discounts the view, sedulously fostered by anti-Fascists of the Left, that the whole structure was nothing more than a camouflaged attempt to prop up a dying Capitalist order and

reduce the workers to slavery. If the employers had less obvious grievances than the workers, that was simply because their joint master, the Fascist State, insisted on 'the higher interests of production'. At the same time Mr. Meenan shows how, in deference to these so-called higher interests, the worker was deprived of all real bargaining power in his dealings with the employer—first and foremost of the right to strike. As for the 'Labour Courts,' before whom any alleged breach of the 'collective contract' might be brought, they were no less slavish instruments of the régime than were the ordinary law courts. It was the former Nationalist Rocco, the spiritual father of the Italian Corporative State, who, as Minister for Justice, solemnly announced that 'the idea of freedom of the judiciary conflicts profoundly with our conception of government'; and the members of the Labour Courts were quite unable, even had they been willing, to base their judgements on what one Fascist writer called 'a pretended mission of metaphysical justice'.

Perhaps the only thing in Italian Corporativism that survives Mr. Meenan's examination is the *Dopolavoro* organization; and this, as he points out, had no necessary connexion with the Corporative State at all. There is a danger that, in the inevitable reaction against a régime which has led Italy to defeat, dishonour, and disintegration, some of its unexceptionable reforms will be thrown on the scrap-heap. There is a still greater danger that the idea of vocational organization may lose face as a result of its distortion into an instrument of totalitarian tyranny. A true vocationalism, designed to limit rather than to exaggerate the power of the State over the individual, has obviously much to commend it, even though it is certainly not the universal solvent of our present discontents which some of its more ardent advocates claim it to be. And here it is pleasant to note the firmness with which the recently issued Report of our own Vocational Commission repudiates the totalitarian Corporative system so ably studied in the present work. D. A. B.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION. Volume XVIII, 1942: Truth in the Contemporary Crisis; Volume XIX, 1943: Philosophy in Post-War Reconstruction. Catholic University of America. $2.00 each.

THESE two volumes consist of papers on philosophical subjects bearing on the present crisis by representatives of prominent Catholic and some non-Catholic American Universities and Colleges, together with reports, for the years 1942 and 1943, of Round Table Discussions, such as have been functioning for years as philosophical groups throughout America. Both productions are important not only for their intrinsic value, but also as evidence of the vitality of present-day philosophical research in the United States.

In volume XVIII the Address on "The Dethronement of Truth," by Dr. Dietrich Von Hildebrand, shows how this dethronement through false propaganda, old and new, cuts off man from the very basis of his spiritual existence. Consequently, salvation now can only come through a counter propaganda of truth. The scope for this propaganda is unlimited and is essentially the work of the Universities and Schools. There must, therefore, be a great renewal of dialectical enterprise comparable to that of the Academy, the Lyceum and the Schools of the thirteenth century.

The essay on "Current Conceptions of Truth," by Dr. Leonard Eslick, contains a rather original analysis of the Thomist doctrine of abstraction, as well as reflections on the necessary relation between scepticism about moral truths and the doctrines of *realpolitik*. When truth is no longer regarded as the ultimate judge of action, then brute force is necessarily substituted for right. If there be no absolutely true principles of morality, then what is better than might to make right? Totalitarianism is the result of the systems of false epistemology that substituted feeling for intellect

d utility for the true good of man. Not, therefore, in the superficial methods of plomacy, but in the making of truth respected and accepted ever more widely the rehabilitation of society to be hoped for.

In his article on the "Psychology of Bias and Prejudice" Rev. J. J. Stafford, io treats of relevant recent work in the Psychology of "attitudes," has me opportune reflections on prejudices in Philosophy, by which some adhere indly to the shibboleths of their own school, assenting to words rather than ideas.

The Report of Round Table Discussions includes, among other useful matter, paper on "Duns Scotus in the Light of Modern Research." This last is of particular terest in view of the well-known unsatisfactory condition of many of the published urces of Scotist doctrine. Pending the results of the Scotist Commission now eeting in Rome and actually engaged on the edition of the *opera omnia* of Scotus, e object of this paper is to present a compendium, from various monographs, of the t result of modern critical research on the life and works of Scotus. It is an exceedgly useful compendium.

The theme of Volume XIX is that, while Philosophy cannot of itself plan the st-war world, it must inspire and direct this planning. In an introductory paper on "A Philosophy of the Absolute and Permanent Peace" the Archbishop of Chicago, ost Rev. Dr. Stritch, refers in particular to St. Augustine, who, through his *De ivitate Dei*, influenced the political and social mind of Europe to think in terms of world-peace inspired by Christian truth. This precious work should be more idely studied, since it represents the very climax of the political thought of the hristian philosopher.

This ideal of world-peace, achieved through International Law in a Federation Nations, is emphasized by different writers in this volume. Rev. A. J. Kelly, oyola University, treats of International Law as the highest development of Natural aw and as the essential basis for true social and international agreement. Since uman rights are not merely positive in origin, but are based on the natural law, hich is God's law, neither treaties nor leagues nor conferences can yield permanent ace unless God be at the centre. Hence the desires of individuals and nations ust be brought into accord with the demands of human nature as God has created This subject of International Law, which has not been explicitly developed by . Thomas, is one of the matters in which the *De Legibus* of Suarez is of unique portance.

Rev. B. McMahon discusses topical problems of great interest (for instance, e meaning of "military necessity") under the title "Some Moral Problems of a ictorious Army of Occupation." Other topical and interesting problems were bjects for the Round Table Discussions. J. H.

Tracts for the Times

HE EDGE OF THE ABYSS. By Alred Noyes. London: John Murray. 1944. 5s. net.

HE ABOLITION OF MAN (Riddell Lectures, 1943). By C. S. Lewis. Oxford University Press. 1943. 2s. 6d. net.

LATO AND MODERN EDUCATION. (Rede Lecture, 1944). By Sir Richard Livingstone. Cambridge University Press. 1944. 1s. net.

ICO DELLA MIRANDOLA: OF BEING AND UNITY. Translated from the Latin. By Victor Michael Hamm. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1943. pp. 34.

HESE four little books are linked together by a rather interesting kinship in subject. n the first of them the theme is confused and indistinct, and its treatment is vitiated

by an uncertainty of aim. Mr. Noyes feels, as he felt after the last war and wrote in the *Saturday Evening Post*, that there is something very seriously wrong with the world. His booklet is an attempt to track down the evil, and he often comes very close to doing so ; but just as we expect him to strike the decisive blow, he is off after some minor manifestation which is at most only a shadow of what he is really hunting. His weapons, too, are sometimes as dangerous to himself as to his quarry. Kipling may perhaps pass as a rather inadequate bearer of a Christian message, but why Clemenceau ? Mr. Noyes made himself notable for his propensity to use strange means towards good ends in his famous book on Voltaire. Here we find him paying tribute on his last page to Goethe as an expositor of the sacramental nature of the Christian religion. His enemies are sometimes almost as peculiar as his allies. This little book opens with what seems like a denunciation of those who omitted to hang the Kaiser, and goes on to lump together armament manufacturers, bankers, pseudo-intellectuals, and propagandists as the chief causes of the world's woes. It is possible to sympathise sincerely with much of what Mr. Noyes has to say while at the same time feeling that he is inclined to waste his indignation as well as his approval on the wrong objects.

Nothing could well be more striking than the contrast between this rather wild hitting out in all directions and the clear precision of Mr. Lewis's Riddell Lectures. Mr. Lewis always knows what he wants to say and always says it with immense effect. The sub-title of his lectures is " Reflections on Education with special reference to the teaching of English in the upper forms of schools." He opens at once by defining the object of his remarks : an elementary text-book on English which, as illustrated by quotations, seems expressly—though Mr. Lewis thinks unwittingly—designed to destroy in the mind of its users all sense of either moral or aesthetic values and to impress on children the view that nothing has any reality except immediate sensations. This view is conveyed by a subtle process of " debunking," the effect of which must be to eradicate the whole ancient Western tradition of education. The tradition is best expressed in Aristotle's saying that " the aim of education is to make the pupil like and dislike what he ought". It is not, however, merely a Hellenic or a Christian tradition. It is to be found also in the ancient wisdom of India and China, and Mr. Lewis, perhaps a little preciously, calls it by a Chinese name *Tao*, or the Way. Fundamentally it is the doctrine that some emotional states are in harmony with reason, others not. The new pedagogy holds that values ought to be justified on " biological " grounds, if necessary, but that in ordinary practice they can be dispensed with altogether. " The operation of the *Green Book* and its kind is to produce what may be called Men without Chests."

Such an attempt to supersede reason by instinct is, of course, much more the prevailing fashion in what calls itself " modern thought " than might perhaps be supposed from Mr. Lewis's selection of an unimportant school text-book as his example of it. Generations of sophists have been preaching it in prose, poetry, and drama. It is common to popular writers like Shaw and Wells, to popular scientists like Huxley and Hogben, and to a whole host of low-grade novelists and journalists who follow them. In one way it is the greatest attraction of Marxism for the modern self-styled " intellectual," for it is practically identical with the doctrine Marx borrowed from Feuerbach : " man is what he eats ". From a truly intellectual, that is to say, reasonable, standpoint, it is of course, as Mr. Lewis roundly says, mere idiocy. Nevertheless it is the real " modern " religion ; and it, rather than Mr. Noyes's Aunt Sallies, is the real cause of the world's present evils. In the second of these lectures, Mr. Lewis shows why it must inevitably lead to the abandonment of the traditional Way. In the third, he demonstrates that this is but the preliminary step to the self-destruction of the human race. The much-trumpeted victory o

an over nature must end in the destruction of *human* nature. If we are to discard l inherited values and thus step into the void, the moulders of the new man, the onditioners as Mr. Lewis calls them, will have complete scientific omnipotence *d no morals.* In other words, they themselves will be creatures of the instinct they ve made supreme, and their scientific omnipotence will enable them to rule the st of mankind—not merely their contemporaries, but all future generations—as e slaves of their supreme will. This is the fatal logic of " modernity ". That it s almost reached the stage of being put in practice is easily to be gathered from ch a book as Rauschning's *Revolution of Destruction.* Mr. Lewis shows that it ands as a threat, not from any external enemy but from inside, to the whole modern orld.

Sir Richard Livingstone's lecture has none of the apocalyptic quality that so stinguishes Mr. Lewis. It is an urbane and timely plea, reinforced by a great holar's intimacy with the greatest of educators, for the recovery of the traditional lues which Mr. Lewis has called the *Tao.* " For Plato the supreme aim of education human goodness . . . . he conceives education essentially as training in values." his concept, which is of course also Christian, has been distorted and set aside by a ries of evil influences—among which, it is good to see, Sir Richard puts first the fluence of Rousseau. A theory which started as a sort of romantic liberation has ded in subjecting the child inexorably to its material environment. Vocationalism, itself and in its proper place harmless or positively good, has become a source of decision, confusion, and ultimately servitude. It has been reinforced powerfully y the great modern development of specialised science and technology, which have nally produced immense skill and great knowledge, but left life, for enormous umbers, devoid of all purpose or value. Sir Richard proposes as a remedy three rinciples. First, the Aristotelian doctrine that " education exists for the sake of a ood life and not only for the sake of life " ; secondly, that the chief instruments r the good life are religion and philosophy ; and thirdly, that in all education as uch attention should be paid to values as to facts. The close connection of his ggestions with the movement of ideas sketched by Mr. Lewis hardly needs further mphasis.

Pico della Mirandola was one of the most brilliant products of the Italian Renssance. Born in 1463 and dying in 1494, on the day of the French entry into Florce, he was the close friend of Marsilio Ficino and Lorenzo de' Medici, and his mmense learning ranged from the Cabbala and astrology (against which his most mportant work was directed) to Scholastic philosophy and Platonism. His *De Ente Uno,* of which the present booklet is a new translation, is the last in a long series f attempts to reconcile Plato and Aristotle which began with the work of the Greek emistos Plethon about 1440. Professor Hamm has been able to rely extensively n the previous work of the French Dominican scholar, Fr. Festugière, and his anslation and notes, apart from a few disfiguring misprints, are accurate and nteresting. Pico's reconciliation of Plato and Aristotle is in fact a brief treatise on ur knowledge of God, and his bridge between the two great ancients is provided by ne mystical theology of Dionysius the Areopagite. What gives his work a particular nterest at the present moment is that, in spite of certain aberrations due to his outh and his enormous intellectual curiosity, he made a highly successful effort o combine what was best in the Renaissance with the heritage of the Schoolmen. ust before the curtain fell with the French invasion, Italian Platonism was returning o a sound basis in traditional theology. In this way it provides an example of the ontinuity of Christian learning. The Schoolmen were in their own way true Humants and the best Renaissance scholars true Christians.

M. T.

FICTION

THE LONG AGO AND OTHER STORIES. By Mary Lavin. London: Michael Joseph. 1944. 9s. 6d.

SHORT story collections, though a survival or revival from days of leisure and slow motion, are perhaps peculiarly characteristic of our hurried age. If the novel is the *table d'hôte* of literature, these are the *à la carte* or the snack-bar, their contents consumed with light haste by an undiscerning public, their art often caviare to the general. Yet on the short story as literature much has been written and said. It has been likened to the sonnet for its severity of design and its formal fastidiousness. Seemingly artless, it is full of art, even of artifice. Apparently just a snapshot it is, at its truest, a vision of life—projected in miniature, indeed but with all the lineaments in relief, so sharp is the illumination of the moment which the writer chooses. That choice of the pregnant moment is the test of vision; on it the significance of the picture depends, as its completeness depends on the co-operation of the artist's faculties of observation and delineation with his insight. The art of the short story is concentrated.

The Long Ago is the second volume by the author of *Tales from Bective Bridge*, which was introduced to the reading public by Lord Dunsany one short year ago. The best proof that Mary Lavin needed no such literary sponsor is furnished by the continuing distinction of these twelve new stories. Not all of them are equally good, nor do they all quite fulfil the requirements of the short story considered as an art-form. Some are too episodic, too incidental, with the incidents overlong drawn out. In others the thought climax is either unconvincing as in "A Cup of Tea" or unclear as in "The Cemetery in the Demesne." I doubt if "The Bunch of Grape" deserved inclusion with the others. I am inclined to deprecate the aesthetic subleties of Blue Dress, which were intended to give point to the conclusion and perhaps also to justify the inclusion. The character postulates of the parish priest in "A Wet Day" are, I hope, unreal. They are certainly inhuman despite the artist's careful motivation.

As between *Bective Bridge* and *The Long Ago* there is the inevitable loss and gain that accompanies all growth. In both there is detached sympathy, acute observation of men and things, a sense of the concrete; the same striking power of visualisation, the same rich Irish-English rhythmic speech with colour and movement in every line, the same happy choice of epithet which make reading Mary Lavin such a pleasure. Her people are the ordinary criss-cross of the Irish country-side—farmers of every grade, shopkeepers, carters, an occasional school-teacher, a civil servant, students "down" from the University and a rare aristocrat. We are brought right into some crisis in their lives with an opening phrase which is as effective as the lifting of the curtain at a play. The second book has indeed nothing to set against the elemental forces and the poignant beauties of the *Bective Bridge* tale "The Green Grave and the Black Grave"; but then neither has it any such obvious echoes of Synge nor does it owe so much of its telling form to easy Gaelic transliteration. I might sense Russian influence in such a sketch as "The Young Girls" in the present volume, but I could hear O'Casey in almost every page of "At Sally Gap" in the first collection. It presented us with fundamentals and finalities; *The Long Ago* group seems to me to show life as more problematic. The characters are more complex, there are more underlying ironies, more question-marks, more social relations—mother and daughter, husband and wife, spinster and widow, the cloister and the hearth. The canvas is richer, though the painter's hand may here and there not be quite equal to the broadening themes. But it is a steady hand, and the guiding eye will get its focus. The Book Society's choice is as clearly justified as was the James Tait Edinburgh Prize. I look forward with confidence, after this book, to a novel from Mary Lavin—incidentally B.A., U.C.D., N.U.I.

MARY M. MACKEN

Economics

DUSTRY AND RURAL LIFE. Edited by H. Bryant Newbold, F.R.I.B.A. London: Faber & Faber. 1942. 8s. 6d.

ANNING AND THE COMMUNITY. By Michael P. Fogarty. Oxford: Catholic Social Guild. 1942. 1s.

The first of these books is a condensation of the proceedings of the Conference d at Cambridge in 1942 to discuss town and country planning. This Conference s the second held during the war to discuss the best use of English land after war; and it is impossible not to envy a people who can at the same time wage war and plan for the peace. In this country indeed we have lately seen a geaat vance towards informed discussion of post-war problems; but it has to be con-sed that we still lag greatly behind Great Britain where, it might be thought, re are more urgent matters to be resolved.

The questions discussed at Cambridge may not appear, at first sight, to have ich bearing on Irish problems. The fundamental difficulty can be summed up the words of Sir Daniel Hall: ". . the land of this country is severely limited d insufficient for all the purposes for which it is needed; it will have to be rationed e all other necessities have to be rationed in the times of stress through which we ve been passing." The war has done much to aggravate this insufficiency. Airfields allow up agricultural land; and the accommodation of the American armies s drawn from an English speaker the wry joke; "We can now appreciate the Red dian's point of view." Even in peacetime, encroachment on arable land proceeded ladily by municipal acquisition for housing estates or waterworks, by ribbon velopment, and by the increasing demand for sports fields. Against these various ms of urbanisation, English agriculture fights a losing battle.

The remedy suggested at Cambridge was nationalisation. It was thought that State alone could plan the use of land and prevent further waste. The owners uld be compensated in Land stock which would bring them the same annual ome as they derive from the land—the valuation for Schedule A being taken as datum line. The title should be vested in the Commissioners of Crown Lands. would be unfair to criticize what is obviously only the heads of a plan; but it y be said that Irish experience does not show this method of compensation to over-reliable. That, however, is a matter of procedure. A more important objection the doubt whether the Crown Commissioners or any new Department of State uld be able to prevent the misuse of land. As a department the new authority uld rank lowest in the official hierarchy; and, it is hard to believe that it could train the service ministries from further depredations, whatever its chances of ccess against municipalities. Nationalisation is a big price to pay for an uncertain nefit.

It is interesting to note, however, that the Conference appeared to consider tionalisation as both inevitable and desirable. It proceeded to discuss whether ge-scale farming should be developed and, although the social structure of English ming is obviously more flexible than it could ever be with us, the various points view are of some interest. First, the argument for large farms (large, as will be n, by English standards): "From every point of view the small farmer, even man of 300 acres, is working at an economic disadvantage; his fields are too all for the power machines now available, just as their total acreage does not provide rofitable load for their prime cost; his command of capital is weak, as is his buying d selling; the scale of his business is too small to command the expert knowledge it can be turned to profitable use." We have heard the same story in Ireland, ough not about farms of 300 acres. It has to be remembered, of course, that English riculture is probably the most highly mechanized in the world at present.

The other point of view was well supported. "If . . . our agricultural future

lies mainly along the lines of mixed farming, with live-stock our main pre-occupation but with the plough moving round the farm to produce good pasture and keep the soil fertile and healthy, the smallish farm is an ideal unit for the greater part of our country. On the very large farm with wide expanses of field it is not so easy to give that high degree of supervision so necessary with animal husbandry, nor to control the grazing, so important for good management of pasture." Some interesting statistics are produced to prove that on Danish farms the standard of efficiency increases with size up to between 75 and 100 acres, after which it falls off steadily.

So far as English farming is concerned, it is all a matter of what post-war policy is to be. A second war in a generation lends much force to the arguments in favour of greater self-sufficiency. But the issue is not so simple as that. More self-sufficiency means more machines, more petrol and oil to run them, more factories to make them, more men to use them. It is not so certain that all this capital and labour would not be better employed in making planes and ships. England, no doubt, would have had less need of imported food since 1939 had her agricultural policy been more protectionist since 1919. But an increased agriculture would have absorbed man-power now in the services or in the factories or in the shipyards. It is possible that the war effort and the nation's fight for existence were better served by industrial production.

This leaves little space to deal with Mr. Fogarty's booklet on the social implications of planning. It is a very concentrated review of the economic decisions that must be made after the war, with special reference to housing policy and its influence on the building trade. There is also a short but valuable discussion of the effect of the trade cycle on unemployment and the possibility of ironing out its fluctuations. It is to be hoped that Mr. Fogarty will deal with this matter—and with the idea of full employment generally—at greater length. He advocates the fostering of the guild systems (*anglicé* 'industrial self-government'), but he also sees its dangers. It is well that the existence of these dangers should be admitted; the possibility of their removal is fairly discussed in this booklet which for its size, covers a great amount of ground. J. F. M.

JOURNAL OF THE STATISTICAL AND SOCIAL INQUIRY SOCIETY OF IRELAND. Ninety-sixth Session, 1942-43. Dublin: Eason or 65 Stephen's Green. 1944. 3s. 6d.

THIS volume, containing over one hundred and fifty pages, gives the text of the six papers read before the Society in the session of 1942-43. There is also an ample précis of the subsequent discussions. Hitherto the Society has distributed the record of its proceedings to its members only; this year, with a confidence that should not prove unfounded, it has decided to place it on sale to the public.

It would be an invidious task to review these papers. Students of abstract and applied economics will find equal instruction. Mr. J. C. M. Eason's study of "Advertising" throws new light on a department of commercial activity that, however reduced at present, grew steadily in importance between the wars. The Chairman of the Central Bank discusses one of the subjects most keenly debated in Ireland to-day, the monetary functions of commercial banks. His paper and the accompanying discussion may be recommended to those who wish to clear their minds on this subject. With a paper on County Mayo, Mr. Freeman continues his study of population movements in the old Congested Districts. It is to be hoped that he will continue these surveys and will some day bring the results of his researches together. The symposium on Irish Social Services, obviously inspired by the Beveridge Report, is a comprehensive review of existing social legislation.

These four papers are obviously of considerable importance to students of Irish economics. But it may be fairly claimed that the remaining two are outstanding and would be worthy of inclusion in the proceedings of learned societies in any country.

rofessor George O'Brien continues the task of synthesis of modern economic nought that he began two years ago in his paper on " Some recent developments n economic theory." To give an idea of the quality of the paper now under review, may suffice to quote from an English reviewer in *Economica :* " The future istorian of our time may well use it as a convenient cross-section of the problems hich mainly occupied economists and social philosophers during the war years. gives evidence of great learning, a remarkable catholicity of taste and a strong etermination to find some middle or compromise position where there seem to be reconcilable divergencies of view." Lastly, Mr. Lyon's paper will arouse the nterest of every statistician. He collates statistics of births for Dublin with duration f marriage and the age of mothers. This is a welcome return to a field in which the rish Census of 1841 was a pioneer and it is only fitting that it should be done by Ir. Lyon.

Enough has been said to convey an impression of the fruitful work of the Society. his volume can compare favourably with the publications of similar societies in ther countries. It may also be claimed that this is not an exceptional session. To nention only three of its more important researches, the Society has furnished an nquiry into the costs of mixed farming, an estimate of population trends, and an pproach to the valuation of the national income. A more recent comparison between ne Danish and Irish economies will be remembered. The Society may claim with ustice that it has not shirked the examination of our many problems and that it has rought to their consideration a wealth of informed opinion that s rare in this country. On the eve of its centenary, which it will celebrate in 1947, wishes to increase its membership. It is to be hoped that the public will recognize nd appreciate such good value as is offered in this volume. J. F. M.

Miscellaneous

MY FATHER'S WILL. By Francis J. McGarrigle, S.J. Milwaukee : Bruce Publishing Company. 1944. $2.75.

The *Abandonment to Divine Providence* of Père de Caussade, S.J., has had an immense influence on Catholic spirituality. He fastened on a central truth of religion, brought it into prominence, showed its full implications, and made it a complete way of life nd perfection. De Montford and Condren have done the same with other aspects f the Christian revelation. The spiritual books which have had such influence, leep and permanent, are naturally few. They are the fruit of a very original vision, of blazing conviction, and as a result are written with great power and attractiveness. As a rule they excite great enthusiasm or great antipathy in their readers ; it seems mpossible to be languid or indifferent about them.

De Caussade has been called the apostle of the Divine will, and his book has pened a door to a new way of holiness for many. Father Francis McGarrigle is a ollower of de Caussade, and his book *My Father's Will* has been written to emphasise o commend and to explain a doctrine that has a special appeal to the modern religious. His book will not supersede *Abandonment to Divine Providence* ; it must be said hat it has neither the power nor the sweep nor the sweetness that are felt so strongly n Caussade's book. Fr. McGarrigle has aimed at giving a fuller exposition of the doctrine of Caussade. Into the framework of that doctrine—that nothing is so free, o ready to hand for every human being as holiness and that holiness consists in conforming the will to God's will—he has fitted a synthesis of the chief Catholic ruths and virtues. He expounds at length the meaning of God's will in our lives, nion with God's will both active and passive, the problem of evil, obedience secular nd religious, humility, perfection, etc. There are signs in every page of the wide reading that went to the writing of the book. It is nourished on the thought of all the great Christian saints and teachers—on St. Augustine, St. Thomas, St. Teresa, St. Ignatius, St. Francis de Sales, to mention the favourite authorities of the authors.

These abundant citations give illumination and confirmation to the doctrine expounded. But the same cannot be said of the innumerable citations from other writers—from Euripides, Pliny, Cicero, Epictetus, from the poets of all ages, from philosophers and men of letters in general. The citations are often slight, do little to enforce or illuminate the subject, and in any case are so numerous as to be irritating. Moreover the exact reference given to every one of them seems somewhat pedantic.

My Father's Will is a helpful practical book, peculiarly appropriate to the modern religious life. The claims of the active life are getting every day more exacting for the priest or brother or nun who is engaged in one of the numerous works of Christian charity and zeal. The professional work of the religious is getting more and more distracting and clamorous. Fr. McGarrigle has done a considerable service by pointing to a way of life which will bring simplicity and peace and true unity of soul into lives in which, almost inevitably, there is found a strong draw to exteriority and distraction.

H. K.

AN IRISH FLORA. By D. A. Webb. Dundalk : Dundalgan Press. 1943. 8s. 6d.

This is a modest volume, of just the right size for the pocket ; but peeping through the lines one can get some idea of the careful thought and patient work, in field and laboratory, that produced such a splendid marshalling of the flowering plants of Ireland. It is so long since the last comprehensive Irish flora was published—Mackey's of 1836—that Dr. Webb must have experienced many of the difficulties of the pioneer. His undoubted success is all the more creditable.

The flowering plants of the Irish flora, the author explains, number 1,050 species. Of these 103 are either very rare or so critical as to require a specialist ; so he relegates them to a special list, thus removing at one stroke so many pitfalls for all but a few first-rate botanists. Another 121 are rather rare and are treated briefly under the most nearly-related of the common species. The remaining 826 species are described in simple, readable language with a minimum of technical terms—and these are explained in a glossary. But users of this flora will perhaps be most grateful for the original, lucid and exhaustive keys : a general key helps to place the family; here again another refers one to the genus ; and if the latter contains more than two species, a further key helps in the choice.

Other attractions of the work are : a list of Irish names ; scales of inches and fractions printed on the end-papers ; and an explanation of the meaning and pronunciation of the Latin names—an excellent item this which, by depriving them of their strangeness, will gain for them (the only really reliable ones we have) ready acceptance from the start. The 138 numbered line-drawings by Miss Hilda Parkes deserve special mention. They illustrate points of structure, not species. Thus, apart from saving space and expense, an admirable compromise is effected : the student is helped but not relieved of the necessity of weighing concise descriptions, and he avoids the danger (inherent in the lavish illustrations of some floras) of being satisfied with a superficial resemblance of the picture to the specimen in hand.

In the study of plants the first step is the recognition of the various species. But this is only a step, not an end. It is a phase alike in the individual's approach as in the collective approach that is science. A further step consists in the study of these species, not as discrete entities but as units of vegetation—*i.e.*, as dependent upon and inter-reacting with one another and modified by the various factors of soil, climate, human and brute activity which make up their environment. The untiring labours of Dr. Praeger and his associates (to whose results this flora is heir) have, morally speaking, closed the first phase for Ireland. The second, or ecological, phase is long overdue. This sterling little volume was probably a necessary prerequisite to the commencement of that study, and as such it is particularly welcome.

M. B.

(The list of books received has been unavoidably held over)

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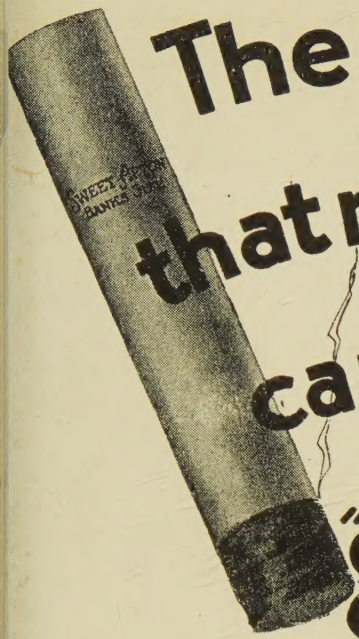

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